00110994

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 06 February, 2016

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

BIBLICAL LITERATURE,

EXHIBITING

THE HISTORY AND FATE OF THE

Sacred Writings,

FROM THE

110994

EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT CENTURY; &c.

INCLUDING

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF TRANSLATORS, AND OTHER EMINENT BIBLICAL SCHOLARS.

BY THE REV. JAMES TOWNLEY,

Author of "Biblical Anecdotes."

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1821

10W/JH
110994

00110994

B. Crompton, Printer, Bury,
Lancashire.

Illustrations

OF

BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

PART SECOND CONTINUED.

CHAPTER XII.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

State of Society. Council of Vienne. Libraries. French Version. Raoul de Presles. Jean de Vignay. Mendicant Friars. Nicholas de Lyra. Petrus Berchorius. Petrarch. Germany. Swedish Version. St. Bridget. Polish Version. Hedwige. Danish Version. Learned Greeks. Persian Gospels. Irish New Testament. Richard Fitzralph. Richard de Bury. Scripture Paintings. Old English Versions. John de Trevisa. Wiclif.

THE state of society at the commencement of the *fourteenth century*, was peculiarly unfavourable to the cultivation of Sacred literature, and the study of the Scriptures. Pride and luxury reigned among all orders of the clergy, and induced universal ignorance and profligacy. Their vices were the subject of satire in every country in Europe. In Italy, Petrarch exposed the depravity of the papal court: and in England, Chaucer satirized, with equal severity, the corruptions of both laity and clergy. Of Avignon, the residence of the Roman pontiff, Petrarch writes in an epistle to a friend, "In this city there is no piety, no reverence or fear of God, no faith or charity, nothing that is holy, just, equitable, or humane. Why should I speak of truth, where not only the houses, palaces, courts, churches, and the thrones of popes

and cardinals, but the very earth and air, seem to teem with lies. A future state, heaven, hell, and judgment, are openly turned into ridicule, as childish fables. Good men have of late been treated with so much contempt and scorn, that there is not one left amongst them to be an object of their laughter."[1]

The poems of Chaucer abound with invectives against the vices of the clergy, particularly the Plowman's Tale, in which he charges them with ignorance, cruelty, covetousness, simony, vanity, pride, ambition, drunkenness, gluttony, and lewdness: an example or two will sufficiently discover the tenor of the poem.

"Such as can nat ysay ther crede,
With prayer shul be made prelates;
Nother canne thei the gospell rede,
Such shul now weldin hie estates."
* * * * * *
"They use horedome and harlottrie,
And covetise, and pompe, and pride,
And slothe, and wrathe, and eke envie,
And sewine sinne by every side.
* * * * * *
As Goddes godenes no man tell might,
Ne write, ne speke, ne think in thought,
So ther falshed, and ther unright,
Maie no man tell that ere God wrought."[2]

Wiclif, who wrote about the same time, says, there were "many unable curates that kunnen not the Ten Commandments, ne read their Sauter, ne understond a verse of it."[3] Edward III. king of England, addressed a strong remonstrance to the pope, against his encroachments, in which he represented that "the encouragements of religion were bestowed upon unqualified, mercenary foreigners, who neither resided in the country, nor understood its language; by which means the ends of the priesthood were not answered, his own subjects were discouraged from prosecuting their studies, the treasures of the king-

(1) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, VIII. p. 361.
(2) Chaucer's Works, by Urry, pp. 179.—189. fol.
(3) Lewis's Hist. of the Life, &c, of John Wicliffe, D. D. p. 38.

dom were carried off by strangers, and the jurisdiction of its courts baffled by constant appeals to a foreign authority, &c."[4] Lewis Beaumont, bishop of Durham, was one instance, among many, of the necessity of Edward's remonstrance. He was a very lame and illiterate French nobleman, so incapable of reading and spelling, that he could not, although he had studied them, read over the bulls announced to the people at his consecration. At the word "*Metropoliticæ*," he paused, tried in vain to repeat it, and at last said, "Soit pour dit!"* Then he came to "*In Ænigmate*," this puzzled him again; "Par St. Louis," said he, "il n' est pas courtois qui a escrit cette parole ici."[5] †

At this period, robbery was the reigning vice in all the nations of Europe; and the robbers, protected by the barons, who shared their booty, plundered *all* who came in their way, without distinction. A troop of these plunderers, commanded by Gilbert Middleton, and Walter Selby, assaulted two cardinals, who were escorted by our illiterate prelate, and his brother Lord Beaumont, attended by a numerous retinue of gentlemen and servants, near Darlington. The cardinals they robbed of their money and effects, and then permitted them to proceed on their journey; but carried the bishop and his brother, the one to the castle of Morpeth, and the other to the castle of Mitford, and detained them till they had paid certain sums, as ransoms. The same unfortunate prelate had his palace afterwards plundered even to the bare walls, by Sir Joselin Deinville.[6]

Injurious as such a state of society must necessarily have been to the promotion of religion and learning, vari-

(4) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, VIII. p. 55.

* "Suppose that said."

† "By St. Louis! It could be no Gentleman who wrote this stuff."

(5) Andrews' Hist. of Great Britain, I. p. 425. Lond. 1794, 4to.

(6) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, VIII. p. 386.

(6) Andrews' Hist. of Great Britain, *ut sup.*

ous instances occurred, which proved that in an age of strife, and ignorance, and depravity, there were, nevertheless, some who duly appreciated the Sacred Writings, and were convinced of the advantages resulting from the study of the Oriental languages. In 1311, the Council of Vienne passed a decree, directing that the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Arabic* languages, together with the Greek tongue, should be taught in the college of Rome, and in the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca. Schools or academies were also erected at Cologne, Orleans, Cahors, Perusia, Florence, and Pisa; and opulent persons founded, and amply endowed, particular colleges in the public universities, in which, beside the monks, young men of narrow circumstances were educated in all the branches of literature. Libraries were also collected, some of which were successively augmented by the generous patrons of literature, and became eminent for the number and value of the books which they contained.[7] Sir Richard Whittington built the library of the Grey Friars, now called Christ's Hospital, in London, which was one hundred and twenty-nine feet long, and twelve broad, (Pennant says thirty-one) with twenty-eight desks, and eight double settles of wainscot; and was also ceiled with wainscot. In three years it was filled with books to the value of £556; of which Sir Richard contributed £400, and Dr. Thomas Winchelsey, a friar, supplied the rest. About the year 1430, one hundred marks were paid for transcribing Nicholas de Lyra's Commentary on the Bible, in 2 vols. to be chained in this library. Leland (*Script. Brit.* p. 441. et *Collectan.* iii. p. 52,) relates, that Thomas Walden, a learned Carmelite friar, who went by order of Henry V. to the council of Constance, and died approved in 1430, bequeathed to the same library as many MSS. of authors, written in capital-roman characters, as

(7) Fabricy, Titres Primitifs, II. p. 150.
Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. III. p. 305.

were then estimated at more than two thousand pieces of gold; and adds, that this library, even in his time, exceeded all others in London, for multitude of books, and antiquity of copies.[8]

About the year 1320, Thomas Cobham, bishop of Worcester, began to make preparations for a library at Oxford, but dying soon after, little progress was made in the work, until 1367, when his books were deposited in it, and the scholars permitted to consult them on certain conditions. A dispute arising between the university and Oriel College, it was not finally completed till about the year 1411. It appears to have been the first *Public Library* in that university. It was at first called *Cobham's Library*, but in 1480, the books were added to Duke Humphrey's collection;[9] of which some account will be found in the succeeding chapter.

Another public library was established at Oxford, in Durham (now Trinity) College, by RICHARD OF BURY, or RICHARD AUNGERVILLE, bishop of Durham, in the time of Edward III. who bequeathed his books to the students of this college. According to the practice of those times, these books were preserved in chests, till the year 1370, when Thomas Hatfield, who succeeded Richard of Bury in the see of Durham, built the library.[10]

In France, Charles V. might justly be considered as the founder of the KING'S LIBRARY, now deemed one of the finest in Europe. This prince, who was fond of reading, and to whom a book was an acceptable present, commenced his library with *twenty volumes*, left him as a royal legacy by his father!* These he afterwards aug-

(8) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, I. pp. 291. 292. Pennant's Account of London, p. 198. Lond. 1791, 4to.

(9) Chalmer's Hist. of the Colleges, &c. attached to the University of Oxford, II. p. 458. Oxford, 1810, 8vo.

(10) Ibid. *ut sup.*

* In the British Museum there is a beautiful MS. on vellum, of a *French* translation of the *Bible*, which was found in the tent of King John, father of Charles V. after the battle of Poictiers, in which he had

mented to *nine hundred*, "a very large number for a time when the typographical art was not invented." They consisted of books of devotion, astrology, physic, law, history, and romance; a very few ancient authors of the classic ages, amongst which there was not a single copy of Cicero's works; of the Latin poets only Ovid, Lucan, and Boetius. To these were added some French translations of the BIBLE, of Augustin's City of God, of Livy, of Valerius Maximus, &c. Many of the volumes were most superbly illuminated by John of Bruges, the best artist in miniatures of that time. The whole were deposited in three chambers, in one of the towers of the *Louvre*, from thence called *La Toure de la Libraire*, the Tower of the Library. The rooms designed for their reception, were, on this occasion, wainscotted with Irish oak, and ceiled with cypress curiously carved. The windows were of painted glass, fenced with iron bars and copper wire. The English became masters of Paris in 1425, and the Duke of Bedford, regent of France, sent into England the principal part of the books, valued at two thousand two hundred and twenty-three livres.[11] A saying related of Charles, deserves to be remembered: Some persons having complained of the respect he shewed to men of letters, who were then called *clerks;* he replied, "Clerks cannot be too much cherished; for, so long as we honour learning, this kingdom will continue to prosper; but, when we begin to despise it, the French monarchy will decline."[12]

A new and more accurate translation of the BIBLE into FRENCH, was also undertaken by order of the same prince. The versions prior to that period had generally been

been taken prisoner by Edward, the Black Prince. *Warton's History of English Poetry*, III. p. 204.

(11) Henault's Chronological Abridgment of the Hist. of France, translated by Nugent, I. *sub ann.* 1380. p. 268.
Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, I. Diss. 2.

(12) Henault, *ut sup.*

made from Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, the chief of which was by *Guiars des Moulins*, canon, and afterwards dean, of St. Peter of Air, begun in June, 1291, and completed in February 1294. King John had also enjoined *John de Sy* to translate the Scriptures into *French*, and to add an *Exposition* of them, but he seems to have completed only *Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Five Books of Solomon*. Charles, therefore, with that wisdom which characterised his reign, formed the design of a new translation of the Sacred Scriptures. Christina de Pisan,* a female poet and historian, patronised and pensioned by that prince, informs us that he "was fond of books, and by his liberality procured translations of the best authors into French; especially the BIBLE, which he caused to be translated in a threefold manner, first the *Text* itself; then the *Text accompanied with a Gloss*; and lastly *an Allegorical Exposition*." [13]

This version has frequently been attributed to NICOLAS ORESME, bishop of Lisieux, in Normandy, who died in 1382. Francis Grudé, Sieur de la Croix du Maine, is the earliest writer who speaks of Oresme as the person deputed by the king of France to translate the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue. In his "Bibliotheque des Auteurs &c." printed at Paris in 1584, fol. he affirms "Il a traduit la Bible de Latin en François;" He translated the Bible out of Latin into French. Le Long has however proved that RAOUL DE PRESLES, and not N.

* In the British Museum, among the *Harleian MSS.* No. 4431, there is a large volume, containing part of the works of this celebrated female. It is a vellum MS. written in a small Gothic letter, in double columns. On the recto of the first leaf, in a large hand, is the following autograph: *Henry, Duke of Newcastle his booke*, 1676. The illuminations are by various hands: a beautiful sketch of a portion of the principal one is copied in Dibdin's *Bibliographical Decameron*, p. cxxxv, which represents the authoress presenting her book to the queen of France. About the period of the composition of her poems, or *Balades*, the Duke de Berry gave her not less than 200 crowns for a set of them. See Dibdin's *Bibliographical Decameron*, I. p. cxxxiv.

(13) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. I. cap. iv. pp. 321. 324. Paris, fol.

ORESME, was the author of this translation; and accounts for the error which has been so generally adopted, by supposing that La Croix du Maine misunderstood a passage in the *Recueil General des Rois, et des affaires de France jusqu' à Louis XIII.* by Jean du Tillet, bishop of Meaux, in which he says, "Nicolas Oresme, a learned man, whose council and advice was particularly followed by King Charles V. translated the works of Aristotle and Cicero, and many others out of Latin into French. For the king greatly loved and admired letters and literary men. He also commanded the holy books of the Bible to be diligently and truly translated, &c." But though Bishop Oresme, and the Bible, are both mentioned by Du Tillet, he does not speak of Oresme as the translator.[14]

On the other hand, there is indubitable evidence that RAOUL DE PRESLES engaged in a translation of the Scriptures, at the request of the king; since in a beautiful illuminated copy upon vellum, in folio, of an old French translation, we meet with the following *Prologue*, or *Preface*.

'To the most excellent and mighty Prince Charles V. 'king of France; I Raoul de Praelle, your unworthy 'servant and subject:

"When my most dread and sovereign Lord directed me to translate the Bible into French, all that I could do, was to deliberate whether I ought to undertake it, or decline it. On the one hand, I considered the greatness of the work, and my own slender ability; and on the other, that there was nothing I either could or ought to refuse you. I, moreover, regarded my age, and my unfortunate disorder, and the different works I had already composed, namely, the *Translation* and *Exposition* of St. Augustin's *City of God*, the book entitled *Compendium Historiale*, another called *Musa*, and various *Epistles*. But whilst I debated with myself, I recollected having read, that human nature, (like iron which is valuable when in use,

(14) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. I. cap. iv. p. 320.

but if disused rusts and spoils,) sustains less injury in every way by labour, than by indolence, I judged it better to be exhausted by exercise, than consumed by idleness; for according to the Wise Man's saying, leisure without letters is death. Let me therefore entreat your Majesty graciously to accept my labours. As to the method to be pursued in my translation; where I conceive abridgment is necessary, I shall give the substance of the whole; and where I perceive a repetition of the same thing as in Chronicles, and the Second Book of Esdras, and elsewhere, I shall retrench; I shall also leave out many names of persons and places where they would be unedifying and wearisome to the reader; and where they would scarcely know whether they were proper names of persons, or of their fathers, or ancestors, or of towns or cities; acting in these things according to your command. I intend also to prefix prefaces, explaining what is necessary respecting the design of the books; and summaries at the beginning of the chapters, that the sense of them may be more easily comprehended; and to distinguish what is not in the Text, by a line drawn underneath; for without explanations the Text is in many places exceeding obscure, particularly to the laity, who are not versed in Holy Scripture. And let nothing that I have undertaken be imputed to pride, but let your command be my apology in all and every thing."

"Finally, I intreat all those who may see this work, when they discover inaccuracies, to bear with my defects; and whatever they find in it that is excellent, to ascribe it to our Lord, from whom cometh evey thing that is good; and farther, in every thing relative to faith, I submit to what is dictated by the (true) faith and to what is held by our holy-mother Church."[15]

From this very rare translation, Le Long, in his "Bibliotheca Sacra, has given considerable extracts.[16] Neither

(15) Le Long, *ubi sup.* (16) Ibid. p. 319.

of the two manuscripts, from which the extracts are made, is perfect; both of them terminating with the *Proverbs of Solomon*; and the first leaf of the former, which originally belonged to John Duke of Berry, brother to King Charles V. having been torn away, probably for the sake of its ornamental decorations; and the latter being without the *Prologue*.

Raoul de Presles, the translator, was the illegimate son of Raoul de Presles, secretary to Philip the *Fair*, to Louis X. and Philip V. and who founded the college at Paris which bears his name. He embraced the profession of the law, and became celebrated for his various and learned writings. One of his earliest works was that which was denominated *Musa*, written in Latin, and dedicated to Charles V. It is an ingenious fiction, on the means of remedying the disorders of the age. About the year 1369, he composed a *Dissertation on the Oriflame*, or Royal Banner of the Kings of France, in their wars against the infidels.* In this discourse the author dwells less upon the ancient banner, than upon the necessity of imploring aid from Heaven, when engaged in warfare. About the year 1379, he was employed by the king to translate Augustin's *City of God*, into French, and had a considerable

* The *Oriflame* was anciently the chief standard borne by the kings of France, in war. Our author thus defines it: "L' Oriflambe, c' est à savoir, un glaive (une lance) tout doré, ou est attachée banniere vermeille;" "The *Oriflame* is a *gilded* lance, to which a vermilion, or flame-coloured banner, is affixed;" hence the appellation *Auri-flamma*, from whence the corrupted terms *Oriflambe, Oliflamma*, &c. It was originally the ensign of the abbey of St. Denis, and borne by the counts of Vexin, who held that earldom as a fief of this abbey, with the obligation of leading its vassals to war, and defending its lands and privileges, under the title of *Advocate*. In peaceable times it was placed on the tomb of St. Denis, but when called for, to be borne to battle, it was delivered into the hands of the advocate, by the abbot himself, who accompanied the delivery of the standard, with certain prayers.

Vexin being in process of time united to the crown, the sovereign became the *advocate* of St. Denis, the standard was accounted sacred, and borne as the royal banner. The ancient cry of war, by the French in battle, *Mont joie St. Denys*, took its rise from this circumstance. See Du Cange, Gloss. Lat. v. *Auriflamma. Advocati Ecclesiarum.*

pension allowed him for that purpose. This translation he commenced in 1371, and completed, with the addition of a Commentary upon it, in 1375. He also translated into French, a book entitled the *Pacific King*, supposed to be an historical and political work, probably the same as the *Compendium Historiale*; another of his works was an *Abridgment* of the *Somnium Viridarii*, or Dream of the Orchard, containing a dispute betwixt the ecclesiastics, the temporalists, and seculars. But his greatest and most important undertaking was the *Translation of the Holy Scriptures*, out of the *Latin* into the *French*, which appeared about A. D. 1377. La Croix du Maine saw a MS. containing De Presles' translations of the *City of God*, and of the *Compendium Historiale*, in two large volumes, on parchment. The former of these, accompanied with the Commentary upon it, was printed at Abbeville, in 1486, in 2 vols, fol. and again at Paris, in 2 vols. fol. The Abbeville edition is extremely scarce, and is said to have been the first book printed in that city, though Marchand cites the *Somme Rurale* of Bouthellier, which was printed in the same year, as the first work which proceeded from the press at Abbeville. La Croix du Maine likewise notices a *MS.* copy of the *Abridgment of the Somnium Viridarii*, written on vellum, and preserved in the library of the President Fauchet, at Paris. Of the *Translation of the* BIBLE, the indefatigable bibliographer Le Long never had seen more than the two copies from which his extracts are taken.

Raoul de Presles was made Attorney General, in 1371; and Master of Requests, 1373; He died in 1382, aged about 68 years.[17]

The dissemination of the Scriptures appears to have been a favourite object with Charles V. of France. For

(17) R. de Juvigny. Les Bibliotheques Françoises de La Croix du Maine, et de Du Verdier, &c. II. pp. 347—350. Paris, 1772, 4to.

before Raoul de Presles was engaged in the new translation of the Bible, many transcripts had been made, by his order, of the version of Guiars des Moulins. Several of these, some of which are richly illuminated and adorned with exquisite miniature paintings, and formerly belonging to the king, and his brother John Duke of Berry, are still preserved in the King's and other libraries of France. Amongst which particular mention is made of a large Bible in two volumes, which Charles used *constantly to carry with him.*[18] Molinæus, or according to his French name, Charles du Moulin, in his work on the *Origin and Progress of the French Monarchy*, says, "He caused the Bible to be translated into French, and not only into the dialect of Paris, but also into the dialects of Picardy, Normandy, and the other provinces of the kingdom, that every one might have the Scriptures in his maternal language, many of which old translations are still extant, with the inscription *"By the command of Charles the Fifth."* Anthony Du Verdiers says the same, and adds, "I possess one of these copies, written on parchment, in the dialect of Picardy."[19] It is probable that most of these translations, made by the king's order, were corrected copies of the version by Guiars des Moulins, since none appear in the provincial dialects, in the list of MSS. given by Le Long, except those of that version. In the Cottonian Library, in the British Museum, among other old French MS. copies of the whole or parts of the Scriptures, is one of an uncertain date, with the title, "L' Evangel translaté de Latine en franceys, in usum Laïcorum:" "The Gospel translated from the Latin into French, for the use of the laity."[20]

An earlier translation than that of Raoul de Presles had been made of the GOSPELS and EPISTLES, contained in the Missal, by Jean de Vignay, or Du Vignes, at the

(18) Le Long, *ut sup.* (19) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. p. 158. Le Long, *ut sup.*
(20) Le Long, I. p 318.

request of Jane of Burgundy, queen of King Philip of France.[21]

JEAN DE VIGNAY, or DU VIGNES, who flourished about A. D. 1306, was an hospitaller of St. James of Haut-Pas, and the translator, as has been already noticed, of De Voragine's *Golden Legend*, and De Riga's *Speculum Ecclesiæ*. There is also a translation by him, of *The game of Chess moralized*.

Queen Jane also ordered several of the early Latin Christian writers to be turned into French, and for this purpose commissioned the archbishop of Rouen to undertake the task. But finding that this dignitary did not understand Latin, she employed a *Mendicant Friar* to accomplish her design. For at this period the Mendicant orders had risen to considerable celebrity, by their learning and diligence.[22]

The *Mendicants* owed their rise about the beginning of the thirteenth century, to the luxury and indolence of the *Monastic Orders*, which rendered it necessary to adopt measures for remedying the disorders created by their dissipation and licentiousness. For this purpose a new order of religious fraternity was introduced into the church, the members of which, being destitute of fixed possessions, might restore respect to the monastic institution, and recover the honour of the church, by the severity of their manners, a professed contempt of riches, and an unwearied perseverance in the duties of preaching and prayer.

The four Orders of Mendicant, or Begging Friars, established by a decree of the second council of Lyons, in 1274, were the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustines, or Austins. The Franciscans were often styled friars-minors, or minorites, and grey-friars; the Dominicans were generally termed friars-preachers, and

(21) Rigoly de Juvigny, Les Bibliotheques Françoises, I. pp. 605, 606.
(22) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, II. p. 111.

sometimes black-friars: the Carmelites bore the name of white-friars: and the Austins, of grey-friars. The Dominicans and Franciscans were the most eminent. The popes, among other immunities, allowed them the liberty of travelling wherever they pleased, of conversing with persons of all ranks, of instructing youth and the people in general, and of hearing confessions, without reserve or restriction: and as on these occasions, which gave them opportunities of appearing in public and conspicuous situations, they exhibited more striking marks of gravity and sanctity than were observable in the deportment and conduct of the members of other monasteries, they were regarded with the highest esteem and veneration through all the countries of Europe.

In the mean time, they acquired the most extensive influence, by the extraordinary assiduity and success with which they cultivated the various branches of literature then pursued. Most of the theological professors in the university of Naples, founded in 1222, were chosen from among them. They were the principal teachers of theology at Paris; and at Oxford and Cambridge, respectively, all the four orders had flourishing monasteries. The most learned scholars in the university of Oxford, at the close of the thirteenth century, were Franciscan friars: and long after that period, the Franciscans appear to have been the sole support and ornament of that university. Their diligence in collecting books was proverbial; and every mendicant convent was furnished with what was considered as a great and noble library, ("grandis et nobilis libraria.") They were the revivers of the Aristotelian philosophy, and obtained the merit of having opened a new system of science; which too soon degenerated into mere scholastic disputes, and unintelligible jargon. The Dominicans of Spain applied themselves to the study of the Oriental languages, and Rabbinical literature; and were employed by the kings of Spain,

in the instruction and conversion of the numerous Jews and Saracens who resided in their dominions. To literary pursuits they joined the arts of popular entertainment, and were probably the only religious orders in England who *acted plays*. The CREATION OF THE WORLD, annually performed by the Grey Friars, at Coventry, is still extant. Gualvanei de la Flamma, who flourished about the year 1340, has the following curious passage in his Chronicle of the VICECOMITES of Milan: "In the year 1336," says he, "on the Feast of Epiphany, the first feast of the three kings was celebrated at Milan, by the convent of the *friars preachers*. The three kings appeared crowned, on three great horses, richly habited, surrounded by pages, body-guards, and an innumerable retinue. A golden star was exhibited in the sky, going before them. They proceeded to the pillars of St. Lawrence, where king Herod was represented with his scribes and wise-men. The three kings ask Herod, where Christ should be born: and his wise-men, having consulted their books, answer him, at Bethlehem. On which the three kings with their golden crowns, having in their hands golden cups filled with frankincense, myrrh, and gold, the star still going before, marched to the church of St. Eustorgius, with all their attendants; preceded by trumpets and horns, apes, baboons, and a great variety of animals. In the church, on one side of the high altar, there was a manger, with an ox and an ass, and in it the infant Christ, in the arms of his mother. Here the three kings offer their gifts, &c. The concourse of the people, of knights, ladies, and ecclesiastics was such as never before was beheld." During the same century a religious drama was performed at *Eisenach*, in Germany, so singular in its design, and so fatal in its effects, that it well deserves to be noticed. The mystery of the FIVE WISE and FIVE FOOLISH VIRGINS was exhibited before the Margrave Frederick. The *wise* virgins were represented as *St. Mary, St. Catharine,*

St. Barbara, St. Dorothy, and *St. Margaret.* The *foolish* virgins applied to them for *oil,* which the actor interpreted to mean, prayers offered to them, to intercede with God in behalf of the suppliants, that they might be admitted to the marriage supper, i. e. into the kingdom of heaven: but the *Wise* refused to give them of their oil. The *Foolish Virgins* were now thrown into an agony of distress, they knocked, they wept, they intreated, but all in vain, oil was denied them, and they were commanded to go and buy for themselves. The scene, and the doctrine it insinuated of the inutility of praying to the saints, alarmed the prince, and threw him into the greatest consternation: "Of what use," exclaimed he, "is our faith, if neither Mary nor the other saints can be obtained to pray for us? To what end so many meritorious actions and good works, that by their intercession we might obtain the grace and favour of God?" His alarm produced apoplexy, which in four days terminated his life. He was buried at Eisenach. (Adami *Vit. Gobelin. Person.* p. 3.)

The buildings of the mendicant monasteries, especially in England, were remarkably magnificent. These fraternities being professedly poor, and by their original institution prevented from receiving estates, the munificence of their benefactors was employed in adorning their houses with stately refectories and churches. Persons of the highest rank bequeathed their bodies to be buried in the friary churches, which were esteemed more sacred than others, and were consequently filled with sumptuous shrines and superb monuments. In the noble church of the grey friars in London, finished in the year 1325, but long since destroyed, four queens, beside upwards of six hundred persons of quality, were buried, whose beautiful tombs remained till the dissolution. These interments imported considerable sums of money into the mendicant societies, so that it is not improbable but that they derived more benefit from casual charity, than they would

have gained from a regular endowment. The Franciscans indeed enjoyed from the popes the privilege of distributing indulgencies, which produced a valuable indemnification for their voluntary poverty.

For the space of nearly three centuries, two of these Mendicant institutions, the Dominicans and Franciscans, appear to have governed the European church and state, with an absolute and universal sway. During that period, filling the most eminent ecclesiastical and civil stations, teaching in the universities with an authority which silenced all opposition; and maintaining the disputed prérogative of the Roman pontiff against the united influence of prelates and kings, with a vigour only to be paralleled by its success; and being, before the Reformation, exactly what the Jesuits have been since.[23]

At the time, therefore, when Queen Jane of France employed a Mendicant friar to execute the translations of certain Christian writers, that order ranked high in literary attainments, and produced in different countries of Europe, learned men, whose writings acquired them a just celebrity. This was PETRUS DE BRUNIQUELLO, bishop of Civita Nuova, an Austin friar, and a native of France, who wrote a work, in which all the HISTORIES OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS *were reduced to Alphabetical order;* and compiled a COMMENTARY ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.[24] NICHOLAS DE LYRA also, who illustrated this period by his learning and writings, particularly claims our regard. He was born of Jewish parents, at Lyre, a town in Normandy, in the diocese of Evreux. After having been instructed in the Hebrew tongue, and in Rabbinical learning, he embraced Christianity, entered among the Franciscans at Verneuil, and afterwards studied at Paris, where he obtained the degree of Doctor, and taught in the univer-

(23) See Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, I. pp. 288—294. from which the above account of the Mendicants is principally extracted.

(24) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, II. p. 900.

sity with great credit. By his merit he rose to the highest offices in his order, and gained the esteem of the great. Queen Jane, wife of Philip of France, appointed him one of her executors, in 1325. He died at a very advanced age, October 23rd. 1340.[25]

He is particularly celebrated for his Latin POSTILLÆ, or brief comments on the whole Bible, which are allowed to be very judicious. The following is the judgment of a learned foreign critic: "The Commentaries of De Lyra not only manifest industry, but display considerable erudition, and deservedly place their author in the first rank of the Biblical expositors of his day. They discover the writer to be skilled in the Hebrew tongue, and to be well acquainted with Rabbinical writings; but his knowledge of the Greek not being so extensive as that of the Hebrew, his commentary on the New Testament does not equal that on the Old, in felicity and accuracy. Amongst the Jewish writers, he generally follows R. Solomon Jarchi; and frequently applauds him in his notes. In explaining the literal sense of the Holy Scriptures, he excelled most of his contemporaries. On those passages of the New Testament which derive illustration from Jewish antiquities, he has thrown considerable light. Unshackled by the authority of the Fathers, he thought for himself, as his works sufficiently discover; though he was not without defects, for he is sometimes inaccurate in what he attributes to the Jews; and sometimes rashly and incorrectly adopts the Aristotelian philosophy.[26]"

The NOTES of De Lyra were appended to an edition of the Latin Vulgate, printed at Rome, in 1472, in 7 vols. fol. and were the *first* comment ever *printed.* They were also often joined to the *Glossæ Ordinariæ,* or a Comment of Walfridus Strabus, or Strabo; the *Additions* of *Paul,* bishop of Burgos; and the *Replies* of *Matthias Do-*

(25) Jewish Repository, III. p. 41. Lond. 1815, 8vo.
Simon, Lettres Choisies, IV. p. 213. De Juvigny, V. p. 128.
(26) Walchius in Le Long, Bib. Sacra. edit. Masch. pt. ii. sec. 3. p. 357.

ringk, or *Thoringk*; and printed with the Vulgate, or Latin Bible. The best edition is that of Antwerp, 1634, 6 vols. fol. They are incorporated in the *Biblia Maxima*, edited by Jean de la Haye, Paris, 1660, 19 vols. fol. A *French* translation was published at Paris, 1511 and 1512, 5 vols. fol.

De Lyra was also the author of a *Disputation* against the Jews, published by Bratheringius, at Frankfort, in 1602; and translated into English from a copy prefixed to the Basil edition (1506, tom. 7) of Lyra's Commentary, by a Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and printed in the *Jewish Repository* for 1815, Lond. 8vo. Another work written by him, and subjoined to his *Biblia*, is a *Treatise* against a particular Rabbi who made use of the New Testament to combat Christianity. Besides which Le Long (tom. 2,) mentions a Treatise entitled *Liber differentiarum Veteris et Novi Testamenti cum explicatione nominum Hebræorum*, an edition of which was very early printed at Rouen, in 8vo. It appears to have treated of the difference of the various translations from the Hebrew, &c. Other writings still remain unpublished; and Cave *(Hist. Lit.)* notices a small tract or two printed with the works of others.

Both Wiclif, and Luther, were considerably indebted to the Postillæ of Lyra. The author of the *Prologue* usually attributed to Wiclif, says, that our English Reformer consulted Lyra's Commentary, in his translation of the Bible; and of Luther it has been affirmed,

> Si Lyra non lyrasset,
> Lutherus non saltasset.
> "If Lyra had not *harped* on Profanation,
> Luther had never *planned* the Reformation." [27]

The writings of our author exhibit him as a defender of the *Novelty of the Hebrew vowel points*, in opposition to the Rabbinical opinion of their antiquity. "The

(27) Lewis's Life of Wicliffe, p. 73.
Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary, *Gen. Pref.* p. vii.

Points," says he," are not an essential part of the letters, nor were they in being when the Scriptures were written, but were invented a long time afterwards, to assist in reading, hence the rolls, which are read in the synagogues, are without points." They also inform us of the impious conduct of the Jews towards the Christians, and the Gospel. Speaking of the reasons why the Jews do not embrace Christianity, he observes, "Many turn away from the faith of Jesus for a threefold cause. One is, on account of the fear of temporal penury, for they are always avaricious; and in their law an abundance of temporal things is always promised; therefore above measure they abhor poverty. Another cause is, because from their cradle they are nursed in hatred to Jesus; and *they curse the Christian Law, and the worshippers of Jesus, in their synagogues every day. But those things to which men are accustomed from their youth, become as it were a second nature*; and consequently, they turn the judgment of the understanding from the truth which is contrary to them. The third cause is, on account of the difficulty and depth of those things which are proposed to be believed in the Christian faith; as by experience they know, who frequently confer with them on these subjects.[28]

Another Franciscan friar of note, was PETRUS AUREOLUS or ORIEL, a native of France, and archbishop of Aix, in Provence. He was called the *Eloquent Doctor*. He taught publicly in the university of Paris, from A. D. 1318 to A. D. 1321, when he was removed to the archiepiscopal see. In 1345, he wrote *Breviarium Bibliorum*, or *Compendium of the Bible*, printed at Paris, 1508, 8vo. He also wrote *Commentaries on the Four Books of Sentences*, and other works. He died on the 27th of April, but in what year is uncertain.[29]

(28) Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. lib. iii. pars. ii. p. 433, Jewish Repository, III. p. 324.
(29) Carei Hist. Lit. App. p. 22.

Montfaucon, in his *Journey through Italy*, gives us another instance of the attention paid to learning by the Mendicant friars. At Bologna, he was shewn a very ancient HEBREW BIBLE, with this inscription prefixed:

'This HEBREW BIBLE was given by brother William 'of Paris, of the order of Brother-preachers, confessor 'to the most illustrious king of France, to the monas- 'tery of Bologna, for the common library of the brethren, 'in honour of St. Dominic, *ann.* 1310, the day before 'the ides of February. Whosoever reads in it is desired 'to pray for him. Amen.'[30]

But learning, though principally cultivated by the Mendicants, was not entirely restricted to them; there were some belonging to the other monastic orders, who devoted themselves to study. Of this PETRUS BERCHORIUS, or PIERRE BERCHEUR, was an instance. He was a native of Poitou, and a monk of the order of St. Benedict. His learning was various and extensive, and his memory so tenacious, that he is said to have been able to quote texts and authorities from the Bible, on all subjects, without any other assistance. He became prior of the convent of St. Eloi, at Paris, where he died, and was buried in 1362. Of his writings, which are voluminous, some are lost, the most important, however, remain, and are, 1. *Reductorium Morale utriusque Testamenti;* 2. *Repertorium Morale, seu Dictionarium Morale;* and 3. The *Gesta Romanorum.* He is also known to have been the translator of *Livy*, by order of John, king of France; and in that office. to have invented and introduced various words, which are now of good authority in the French language. A MS. of this translation is preserved in the Sorbonne, at Paris.[31] The *Reductorium Morale* is divided

(30) Montfaucon's Journey through Italy, p. 438.

(31) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, II. p. 634.
Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, III. Dissert. on the *Gesta Romanorum*, pp. i.—vi. lxxxvi. lxxxvii.
Lempriere's Universal Biography. Lond. 1808, 4to.

into two parts; the *first* of which contains thirty-four books, and consists of allegorical expositions of different passages of Scripture, selected, according to their order, from the historical and prophetical books of the Old and New Testament, and the Apocrypha. The following brief extract from the Exposition of Genesis i. may give an idea of the work: "*In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth, &c.*—"It appears, that as God exercised himself in the creation of the great world, so he continually exercises himself in the creation of the little world, man, and in the formation of the moral man, I say, therefore, that the light is faith, the firmament is hope. The waters above (the firmament) are troubles sent by God; the waters under (the firmament) are temptations arising from the carnal nature. The earth is the body; herbs and trees are good works; fruits and seeds are virtues and meritorious deeds. Lights signify discretion; the sun is divine wisdom, the moon worldly knowledge. Fishes, which are always in water, signify devotion; but birds, divine contemplation; cattle, the help and assistance of the poor; reptiles, compassion for the sufferings of others; beasts signify devils, and evil thoughts. Man, made in the image of God, designates the formation of the moral man, and the moral perfection of the mind. Paradise denotes final blessedness, and the consequent glory. This I say, therefore, that in the little world, that is, in the morally perfect man, the first thing necessary is the light of faith, to illuminate the mind, and to discover the truth; and to dissipate and confound error and darkness: hence it is said, Acts ix. 'There shined round about him a light from heaven."

The 2nd part of the *Reductorium Morale* treats "De rerum proprietatibus," (Of the properties of things,) and is a curious compendium of pneumatology, natural history, &c. It is divided into 24 books, in which every subject is allegorized after the manner of the preceding

exposition or commentary; the following is an example:

"Of Britain."

"Britain, i. e. England, is a large island, surrounded by other islands. Near it is one called *Silura*,* the soil of which is so obnoxious to serpents, that it will kill any serpent introduced into it; and the inhabitants extraordinary, for they wholly discard money, and the use of it, bartering one thing for another, procuring necessaries rather by exchange than purchase, and revealing to men and women the knowledge of future events. By that island I understand religion, especially the Mendicant orders; by the soil which yields sustenance to them, the knowledge of the Scriptures, which opposes, kills, and destroys serpents, i. e. vices and temptations: they are also accustomed not to value money, but to seek necessaries by exchanging, that is, by begging, and to think of nothing but futurity: Wisd. viii. "She knoweth things of old, and conjectureth aright what is to come."

"According to Solinus, there was formerly in Britain, a temple dedicated to the goddess Minerva, where the perpetual fires never whitened into ashes, but when suffered to go out were transformed into globes of stone. Say, therefore, if you please, that the goddess Minerva is the Blessed Virgin, whose temple is the conscience of a righteous man, in which, without doubt, the fire of perpetual charity ought to burn, and never be lost in the ashes of sinners, but transform itself into the stone of perseverance."

The *Repertorium*, or *Dictionarium Morale*, is the most valuable of the works of Berchorius. It is a voluminous theological dictionary, in which all the words of the Vulgate version of the Bible are alphabetically arranged and explained; and discovers extensive theological knowledge, and uncommon acquaintance with the Scriptures. The following article, selected for its brevity, will serve as a specimen of the work:

* One of the Scilly isles.

"*Proverbium.* (Proverb.) An enigma, or parable, i. e. an obscure speech, or a common saying, promulged as a law or rule. A proverb is used for

An allegorical proposition;
An authentic declaration;
A prophetic enunciation;
A scornful expression.

It is taken for an allegorical proposition, and is thus used John xvi. where it is said, "Now speakest thou plainly, and speakest no proverb." Also, for an authentic declaration, and is so used, 1 Sam. xxiv. "As saith the proverb of the ancients: wickedness proceedeth from the wicked." Again for a prophetic enunciation, as Eccles. xxxix. "He will seek out the secrets of grave sentences, (*Vulg.* Proverbiorum,) and be conversant in dark parables." Also, for a scornful expression, and is thus used 1 Kings ix. "Israel shall be a proverb, and a by-word among all nations."[32]

These works have been repeatedly printed; the edition from which the above translations have been made, is in two ponderous folio volumes, printed at Cologne, 1620.

The *Gesta Romanorum* is a singular compilation of romances, apologues, and stories. It was one of the most favourite books of that period; and seems to have been "compiled from the obsolete Latin chronicles of the later Roman, or rather German story, heightened by romantic inventions, from legends of the saints, oriental apologues, and many of the shorter fictitious narratives which came into Europe with the Arabian literature, and were familiar in the ages of ignorance and imagination. The classics are sometimes cited for authorities; but these are of the lower order, such as Valerius Maximus, Macrobius, Aulus Gellius, Seneca, Pliny, and Boethius. To every tale a *Moralization* is subjoined, reducing it into a Christian, or moral lesson. Most of the oriental apologues are

(32) Berchorii Opera, I. pp. 1, 906; et II. p. 959, Colon. Agrip. 1620, fol.

taken from the *Clericalis Disciplina*, or a Latin dialogue between an Arabian philosopher, and Edric his son, never printed, written by Peter Alphonsus, a baptized Jew, at the beginning of the twelfth century, and collected from Arabian fables, apothegms, and examples. Some are also borrowed from an old Latin translation of the *Calilah u Damnah*, a celebrated set of Eastern fables, to which also Alphonsus was indebted." This popular work was one of the very early printed books, several editions having been published before A. D. 1500; and was translated into Dutch, in 1484. Warton has prefixed a learned "Dissertation" on the *Gesta Romanorum*, to his "History of English Poetry," vol. III. from which the preceding remarks are taken.

In ITALY, classical learning began to revive, principally by the exertions of FRANCIS PETRARCH, who, as an elegant writer has said, "rescued his country's name from obscurity, and rendered it the admiration of Europe; who sought the society of learned foreigners, and was among the first to promote the cultivation of the Greek tongue; who, himself a philosopher, historian, orator, poet, and philologist, encouraged, by his example, every liberal pursuit."[33] And who, had he not disgraced his moral character by an infamous passion for *Laura*, the wife of *Hugo de Sade*, lord of *Saumane*, must have claimed the unreserved applause of every friend to literature and genius.

Yet with all his ardour and enthusiasm for the cultivation of literature, Petrarch remained so ignorant of the Greek, that when a Greek Homer was sent him from Constantinople, he lamented his inability to taste its beauties. But his defective knowledge of that copious tongue was occasioned by the deplorable darkness of the age in which he lived, and not by his own indifference or neglect. For such was the lamentable indifference to the study of the Greek, that not one scholar versed in

(33) Berington's Literary Hist. of the Middle Ages, p. 410.

that language, was to be found at Rome. It was reserved for his friend Boccaccio, or Boccace, to enjoy the pleasure, and obtain the honour, of introducing to public notice and consequent remuneration, Leo, or Leontius Pilatus, the first Greek lecturer at Florence. This was about the year 1360. He had been detained at Florence, when on his way from the East to Avignon, by the advice and hospitality of Boccaccio, who lodged the stranger in his house, and prevailed upon the magistrates to elect him a member of their academy, and to settle on him an annual stipend. The appearance of the lecturer was disgusting. He was clothed, says his disciple, *(De Geneal. Deorum.* lib. xv. cap. vii.) in the mantle of a philosopher, or a Mendicant; his countenance was hideous; his face overshadowed with black hair; his beard long and uncombed; his deportment rustic; his temper gloomy and inconstant; nor could he grace his discourse with the ornaments, or even the perspicuity, of Latin elocution. But his mind was stored with a treasure of Greek learning; history and fable, philosophy and grammar, were alike at his command. The inconstancy of his disposition led him to return to Constantinople, after having filled the professor's chair only three years. Still unsettled, he determined to revisit the country he had left, and for that purpose embarked on board a vessel destined for Italy, but as they approached the shore, the ship was assailed by a tempest, and our unfortunate teacher, who had lashed himself to the mast, was stricken dead by a flash of lightning.[34]

The *Theological writers* in Italy, at this period, were few, and their writings in general unimportant. The chief of those who employed their pens on subjects of divinity, attempted by allegorical and mystical comments, to illustrate or explain the Sacred Writings; but nothing appears

(34) Berington's Literary History of the Middle Ages, B. vi. pp. 434—436.

to have been published worthy of notice, unless, perhaps, the MARGARITA BIBLICA of GUIDO DE PILEO, a Dominican friar, bishop of Ferrara, who died in 1331; in which the author has endeavoured, in hexameter verses, to give an epitome, and allegorical exposition of the Old and New Testament. An edition of it, without place or date, was printed in the very infancy of the typographical art.[35]

In GERMANY, JOANNES RUSBROCHIUS, a native of Brabant, and prior of the monastery of the priory of Viridis Vallis, who died A. D. 1380, wrote a number of mystical works, amongst which was one in the German tongue, *On the Tabernacle of Moses*, in which he, in his way, explains many parts of the books of *Exodus*, *Numbers*, and *Leviticus*. The whole of his works have been twice printed at Cologne; first in 1552, in fol. and again in 1609, 4to. In these editions his German works are translated into Latin. About the year 1300, a prose version of the Scriptures was made into DUTCH, but the author is not known.[36]

If we turn to the North of Europe, the chief occurrences that interest the Biblical scholar, are private translations of the Scriptures into the vernacular language of SWEDEN, and POLAND, one of them executed at the request of a princess, whose name has been deservedly transmitted to succeeding ages; and the other translated by the no less illustrious princess whose name it bears. ST. BIRGIT, or BRIDGET, was the daughter of *Birger*, or *Birgines*, a prince of the royal blood of SWEDEN, and of Ingeburgis, daughter to Sigridis, a lady descended from the kings of the Goths, and was born A. D. 1302. She married Ulpho, prince of Nericia, in Sweden, who died in 1344, in the monastery of Alvastre. After the death of her husband, she founded a religious order, called from her the

(35) Le Long, II. p. 906.
(36) Cavei Hist. Lit. App. p. 57.
Acta Eruditorum, An. 1733. p. 62. 4to.

Order of the Brigittins, or *Brigettins*; and built the great monastery of Wastein, in the diocese of Lincopen, in Sweden. At her request, MATTHIAS, or MATTHEW of SWEDEN, her confessor, and canon of Lincopen, translated for her use, she being ignorant of Latin, the Bible into SWEDISH, accompanied with short learned annotations. The translator, who was also called *Matthew of Cracow*, in Poland, probably from being a native of that city, was afterwards raised to the see of Worms, where he died in 1410.* He wrote on several theological subjects, such as the mass, eucharist, &c. Some of his MSS. are said to be still preserved in different libraries. *St. Bridget* died July 23rd, 1373. Her pretended *Revelations* have been repeatedly printed, at Lubec in 1492, at Nuremberg, 1521, with cuts, much esteemed; at Rome, 1521, &c.[37] No copy of the translation of the Scriptures, which she procured, is now to be found; but in the library of the university of Leipsic, there is a MS. in 12mo. containing the *Latin Bible*, fairly written, said to have been transcribed with her own hand.[38]

The POLISH version is attributed to HEDWIGE, daughter of Louis, king of Hungary and Poland; or, according to some writers, daughter of Casimir the Great. She was chosen sovereign Queen of Poland in 1384, and her panegyrists assure us that "she was eminent for her immense charities to the poor, her liberality to churches, monasteries, and universities; her humility and aversion to pomp or gaudy apparel; her meekness, which was so wonderful, that in so exalted a station she was utterly a stranger to anger and envy;" and that "she read no books but such as treated of piety and devotion; the chief being the Holy

* Messenius places his death about A. D. 1352; and says he was intimate with the Dominicans of Stockholm, among whom he breathed his last; but Butler professes to state the time of his death from his epitaph. See Messenii *Scondia Illustrata*, II. tom. IX. cap. vi. 43. Stockholm, 1700, fol.

(37) Butler's Lives, X. Oct. 8. pp. 158—166.

(38) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. p. 240.

Scriptures, Homilies of the Fathers, Acts of Martyrs, and other saints, and the Meditations of St. Bernard, &c."[39] In 1386, she married Jagello, a pagan duke of Lithuania, on condition, that he should embrace the Christian faith, and establish it in his dominions. At his baptism he received the name of Vladislaus, and subsequently persuaded the subjects of his dutchy to make profession of the Gospel. Hedwige died at Cracow, in 1399.[40] Johannes Lasicius, in his work *De Gentis Franciscæ Gestis*, lib. i. professes to have seen an elegant MS. of this translation.[41]

In the Royal Library at Copenhagen, there is a MS. (No. 8 of the MSS. in fol. of the Thottian catalogue,) formerly in the possession of Count Thott, containing a DANISH version of *part* of the OLD TESTAMENT, supposed to have been made in the *thirteenth*, or at the latest, in the beginning of the *fourteenth* century. The following account of it I owe to the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Ebenezer Henderson, who favoured me with a valuable *MS. History of the Danish Versions*, written by himself, and to which this work will be principally indebted for what relates to the Biblical History of Denmark.

The Danish MS. of the Old Testament, deposited in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, "forms an ordinary folio, and has been strongly bound in wooden boards, covered with skin. It has already suffered considerable damage by its exposure in a humid place, and is fast mouldering away at the ends. It is written on paper, in two parallel columns. Towards the beginning, the lines marking the space to be filled by the text, have been drawn with ink, the colour of which is considerably paler than that with which the text itself is written; but the rest has been ruled with a leaden pen. The text forms one whole, no

(39) Butler's Lives, X. Oct. 17. p. 425. *note.*
(40) Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. III. p. 298.
(41) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. p. 439.

blank space being left either between the chapters or the books. The number of the chapter is begun on the same line with the conclusion of the preceding, and is either longer or shorter, according to the space that was to be filled up. The title of the book is written at the top of the page, as far as the middle of the twelfth chapter of Exodus, from which to the end it is omitted. The initial letter of every chapter is roughly ornamented, and is written with a kind of red paint, which has something of a glossy surface, resembling wax. The same material is used in correcting what was improperly written, and in writing the titles of the books and chapters. It is also employed in punctuation, which consists of a stroke drawn transversely through the line, answering to the more common stops; and where any remarkable word or sentence begins, a red stroke is drawn through the first letter of the word. At the foot of the page are a number of prayers and pious effusions, through a considerable part of Genesis, but they are the work of a later hand. The first two leaves, and part of the third, have been devoured by the tooth of time; and the text now begins Genesis ii. 10. It is also defective from Genesis xxx. 36, to xxxi. 29, and ends with 2 Kings, xxiii. 14."

"The version is done exactly according to the Vulgate, and faithfully adopts all its faults, nor can this be matter of surprise to those who know, that it has been doubted by those best acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of that country, whether at that period, there were any of the clergy who so much as understood the Greek Testament, in Denmark; and that many of the ecclesiastics themselves, had not an opportunity of forming any acquaintance even with the Vulgate. The translator of the Danish version has not only in general servilely followed the Vulgate, but has at times attempted to express the derivation of the Latin words in his version, which could not fail, in many instances, to render it ridiculous. Thus

the Almighty is introduced Genesis xxvi. 5, as commending Abraham for making use of *wax candles* in the observance of his religious rites. The Vulgate has *Ceremonias*, which this translation renders: "Because Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge and commandments, and kept feast-days with wax, that is, wax-candles, and laws." The same rendering occurs also in several other places. In Exodus xxviii. 4, the Latin terms used to describe the garments of the priests, are explained by the sacerdotal apparel of the Romish church. Great use is made of synonymes by way of explication, especially in those passages in which Latin words are introduced."

"Translations of the Prefaces of Jerom are introduced at their proper places; and sometimes, though rarely, a passage is introduced from Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*. Thus the story respecting the grave of Joseph, is related after Exodus xiii. 19; a long account is given of the infancy and youth of Moses at the end of Numbers xii. and at the end of 1 Samuel xxv. a comparison is drawn between Saul and the Devil, and one between David and a spiritual man, which concludes, 'O St. David pray for us."

A full account of this MS. is given by Dr. Wöldike, in the 2nd volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Copenhagen, who concludes, from the size of the volume, that there may have originally been two more, comprising the whole Bible; but Dr. E. Henderson remarks, that "the abrupt manner in which this fragment ends, at the beginning of the first column on the last page, without regard to any division in the Bible, shews that its present size is merely accidental, and that either the original," (from which this MS. appears to be a copy,) "has not extended farther, or the transcriber has been prevented by death, or some other unavoidable cause, from prosecuting his labour."

Pontoppidan (Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplom. T. IV.

p. 563,) mentions his having found in a MS. B. Bircherodii, a notice respecting an order issued 1671, by Christian V. to print a very ancient MS. of the Bible, which was preserved in the Royal Library, and which he supposes to have been the MS. just described; but the order appears never to have been put into execution, a circumstance that cannot but be lamented by the Biblical scholar, as the MS. is evidently in a state of decay.

Among the GREEKS of this century, EUTHALIUS JOHANNES CANTACUZENUS, and SIMON JATUMÆUS, are most worthy of notice. CANTACUZENUS, born in Constantinople, was bred to letters and to arms, and admitted to the highest offices of the state. The Emperor Andronicus loaded him with wealth and honours; and at his death, in 1341, left to him the care of the empire, and the guardianship of his son John Paleologus, then only nine years of age, until his son should be capable of assuming the reins of government himself. This trust he discharged for some time with the utmost fidelity and diligence, till the Empress Dowager and her faction, having proclaimed him a traitor, he was led to listen to the entreaties of the army and nobles, and to assume the imperial purple. A civil war ensued, in which Cantacuzenus was victorious. At a suitable age he associated the young Paleologus with him in the empire, and confirmed the union by giving him his daughter in marriage. Jealousy and suspicion again gave rise to civil commotions, till, weary of the troubles of sovereignty, and unwilling to continue the contest, Cantacuzenus abdicated his share in the empire, assumed the habit of a monk, and, retiring into a monastery, adopted the name of Joasaph, or Josaphat, and devoted himself to the duties of religion, and the pursuits of literature. In this relinquishment of worldly grandeur, he was accompanied by his wife, who entered a nunnery, and changed her name from *Irene* to *Eugenia*. In his retirement he wrote a *History of his own times*, of

which a splendid edition, with a Latin translation, was published at Paris, in 3 vols. folio, 1645. An *Apology for Christianity*, against the Mohammedans, with *Four Books in Confutation of the Errors of Mohammed and the Alcoran*, written in 1360, at the request of a Christian monk, who had been converted from Mohammedanism; and edited by Rudolph Gualter, who translated them into Latin, and published them with the Greek, at Basil, in 1543, fol. and afterwards with the *Alcoran*, in 1555. And a work *against the Jews*, designed to refute their errors. This latter work is also sometimes noted as *Nine Sermons* against the Jews. In his writings, Cantacuzenus assumed the name of *Christodulus*. The time of his death is uncertain, though he is supposed to have lived many years in his retirement.[42]

Simon or James Jatumæus, a Dominican friar, a native of Constantinople, flourished about the close of this century. He was first, bishop of Geirace, in Calabria Ultra, in Italy, and afterwards archbishop of Thebes, in Bœotia. His knowledge of the Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew languages, in which he was thoroughly versed, enabled him to form from the best and most correct Greek copies, a regular series or *Harmony* of the whole of the New Testament, and to translate it into *Hebrew* and *Latin*. These versions, with the Greek, he placed in three parallel columns on each page, and with considerable labour and diligence, disposed them with so much exactness, that each version answered to the other, line for line, and sentence for sentence, both in sense and words. A copy of this curious Triglott-Harmony was formerly kept in the library at Genoa.[43]

Euthalius Rhodius was a monk of the order of St.

(42) Cavei Hist. Lit. App. pp. 37, 38.
Fabricii Delectus Argumentorum, &c. p. 124. Hamburg, 1725, 4to.
(43) Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. lib. iv. p. 378.
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. p. 61.

Basil, who, after the example of Cardinal Hugo's Latin work, compiled a GREEK CONCORDANCE OF THE BIBLE. Nothing more is known of him, except that he lived at the commencement of this century;[44] nor is there any copy of his work known to exist at present.

Directing our views Eastward, we find a PERSIAN translation of the FOUR GOSPELS, made by order of the Prince IBN SAHM ADDAULA IBN SCIRANA. The following subscription at the end of a MS. of this version, is characteristic of the age and country in which it was written.

'These Four glorious GOSPELS of Matthew, Mark, 'Luke, and John, were finished in the city of Caffa,* 'inhabited by Christians, (prayers being performed,) on 'the third day of the week, the ninth of the month 'Tamuz, in Latin called July, in the year of Christ the

(44) Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. lib. iv. p. 286.

* CAFFA, or *Cafa*, is a city and port town of the Crimea. It was anciently called *Theodosia*, and since it came into the possession of the Russians, this name has been restored to it. It is at present chiefly inhabited by foreigners of different religious persuasions. In July 1815, a *Bible Society* was established in that city, designed particularly to comprehend in the sphere of its operations, the countries lying on the shores of the Black Sea. On that occasion, his Excellency Bronefsky, governor of the city, transmitted to the Russian Bible Society, a communication written by himself, in which he says, "Abhazi, Mingrellia, and Anatolia, being in the closest commercial connection with Theodosia, present a wide field for the Bible Society proposed to be in that city. It is well known, that, in former times, the Abhazi were enlightened by the faith of Christ, and belonged to the Greek communion, possessed their own bishops, and were reckoned to the *Eparché* of Alanic, the seat of which see was Theodosia, and afterwards Phanagaria. After the fall of the Greek empire, however, the nation of the Abhazi, like the Circassians, being deprived of preachers, and not possessing a written language, returned to their heathenish customs, and at last many of them embraced the Mohammedan religion. Monuments of Christianity exist to the present time among them, in the remains of churches, for which the people have still respect. Another proof of this is the veneration which they have for the form of the cross. Certain of the Abhazian tribes, in the vicinity of Annapa, perform their religious service, which is greatly mixed with heathenism, before a cross, placed upon a tree; or they simply cut out the form of the cross on the bark of the tree, and pray and offer sacrifices before it." See the *Twelfth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, App. No. viii. p. 13. Lond. 1816.

'Messiah, 1341, by the hand of the weakest of the 'people of God, SIMON IBN JOSEPH IBN ABRAHAM AL 'TABRIZI. May the God of those that fear him (i. e. of 'the Christians) by his grace and providence shew 'mercy, that when they read or hear this (book of the) 'Gospels, they may say a Pater Noster and Ave Maria, 'for the poor writer, that, through the Divine Mercy, 'he also may be forgiven. Amen. And this (book of 'the) Gospels was written by the command and coun-'sel of his lord and king, (the glory of princes and 'merchants, and the honour of the people of Christ,) 'the friend and brother of the pure church, the lord and 'prince IBN SAHM ADDAULA IBN SCIRANA, surnamed 'of Teflis. God be gracious to him and his kindred. 'Amen.'[45]

"This version," remarks Dr. A. Clarke, "was made most evidently, by a Christian of the *Roman Catholic* persuasion, who acted under the most predominating influence of his own peculiar *creed*; for it is not only interpolated with readings from the *Vulgate*, but with readings from *rituals* and *legends*."[46] It was printed with the Latin translation of Dr. Samuel Clarke, in the fifth volume of the London Polyglott, from a MS. belonging to the learned Dr. Pocock. A much purer and more simple version of the Four Gospels, but of uncertain date, was published, with a Latin translation, in 1657, fol. It was translated into Latin, and prepared for the press, by Mr. Abraham Wheeloc, professor of Arabic in the university of Cambridge, who actually began to print it in 1652; but dying shortly after, the work was patronized by Thomas Adams, lord mayor of London, and finished under the care of Mr. Pierson, at the press of J. Flesher. It seems that Mr. Wheeloc had designed to affix critical notes to each chapter;

(45) Waltoni Proleg. xvi.

(46) Dr. A. Clarke's Comment. *Introduction to the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles*, p. xvii.

but as the regular comment appears to have been prepared no farther than to the seventeenth chapter of Matthew, the notes which the continuator found after the close of that chapter, are all printed at the conclusion of the work.[47] It is probable the former version was made from the *Syriac*, the latter from the *Latin* Vulgate.

Another version of the PERSIAN Gospels is mentioned by Le Long. It was transcribed in the year 1388, but from an original of much older date; and was sent to the college at Rome, from Agra, in the East Indies, by Jeronymo Xavier, a Roman catholic missionary, who died at Goa in 1617.[48]

Returning again to the West, a singular occurrence in IRELAND claims our attention. About the year 1358, Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh, possessed a translation, *probably made by himself*, of the *New Testament* in IRISH. According to the information of Bale, quoted by Archbishop Usher, this copy was concealed by him in a certain wall of his church,* with the following note: "When this book is found, truth will be revealed to the world; or Christ shortly appear." This, observes the narrator, was written in the spirit of prophecy, for the book was found, when the church of Armagh was repairing, about the year of Christ 1530.[49] No vestige of this translation is supposed to remain; though Fox, in his *Actes and Monumentes of the Church*, vol. I. p. 511, printed in 1570, says, "I credibly heare of certayne old Irish Bibles translated long synce into the Irysh tong, which if it be true, it is not other lyke, but to be

(47) Dr. A. Clarke's Comment. *ubi sup.*

(48) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. I. p. 133.

* A curious MS. original of the New Testament, (one Gospel, *St. Mark*, wanting,) found *walled* in Loddington church, in Northamptonshire, was in the possession of Bishop More, who had borrowed it from the Rev. George Tew, the rector, but never returned it; and is supposed to be now in the Public Library at Cambridge, among the collection of books purchased at the death of the bishop for £6000, by King George I. and presented to that university. Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, IX. p. 612.

(49) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. p. 156.

the doing of this Armachanus;" and adds, that this was "testified by certayne Englishmen, which are yet alyve, and have sene it."

Richard Fitzralph, or Fitzraf, "a man, worthy, for his Christian zeal, of immortal commendation," was brought up at Oxford, under John Baconthorpe, who was called the *resolute doctor*. His abilities recommended him to King Edward III. by whom he was promoted, first to the archdeaconry of Lichfield, then to the chancellorship of Oxford, and afterwards to the archbishopric of Armagh, in 1347. He was the severe and professed opponent of the Mendicant friars, who, by their arrogance and encroachments on the rights of the clergy, had created very general disgust. Being cited by them to appear before Pope Innocent IV. he defended himself in the presence of the pontiff, in an oration, the substance of which is preserved in Fox's *Actes and Monumentes*, vol. I. pp. 505—510. In this discourse he observes, that the Mendicant friars entice and delude so many of the young scholars who are sent to the universities, to enter their order, that "laymen, seeing their children thus to be stolen from them, refuse to send them to their studies, rather willing to keep them at home to their occupation, or to follow the plough, than to be circumvented and defeated of their sons at the university, as by daily experience doth manifestly appear.—For whereas, in my time," saith he, "there were in the university of Oxford, thirty thousand students, now are there not to be found six thousand." And thus notices the decay of learning occasioned by their monopoly of books. "These begging friars, through their privileges obtained of the popes to preach, to hear confessions, and to bury; and through their charters of impropriations, grow thereby to such great riches and possessions by their begging, craving, and catching, and intermeddling in church matters, that no *book* can stir,

of any science, either of divinity, law, or physic, but they are able and ready to buy it up. So that every convent having a great library full stuffed and furnished with all sorts of books, and there being so many convents within the realm, and in every convent so many friars increasing daily more and more, it thereby comes to pass, that very few books, or none at all, remain for other students:" of which he gives this instance, "that he himself sent forth to the university, *four* of his own priests or chaplains, who sending him word again that *they could neither find the Bible*, nor any other good profitable book of divinity, meet for their study, therefore were minded to return home to their country;" and adds further, that "he was sure, one of them was by this time returned."

The opposition of the good archbishop to what he considered to be the reigning abuses of his day, brought much trouble and persecution upon him. Our martyrologist tells us, that in a certain confession or prayer, composed by Fitzralph, and of which he himself had a copy, he relates the particulars of his many providential deliverances out of the hand of his enemies, and almost the whole history of his life, especially "how the Lord taught him, and brought him out of the profound vanities of Aristotle's subtlety, to the study of the Scriptures of God." The beginning of the Prayer in Latin, as given us by Fox, deserves to be translated. "To thee be praise, and glory, and thanksgiving, O Jesus, most holy, most powerful, most amiable, who hast said, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life;—a way without deviation,—truth without a cloud, and life without end.' For thou hast shown me the way; thou hast taught me the truth; and thou hast promised me the life. Thou wast my way in exile; thou wast my truth in counsel; and thou wilt be my life in reward."—After this quotation, every pious character will regret that the honest martyrologist did not execute the design he had formed of publishing the whole confession.

Fitzralph remained some time in banishment, and died at Avignon, about A. D. 1360; yet such was the character he had maintained, that on hearing of his death, a certain cardinal openly declared, "A mighty pillar of Christ's church was fallen." [50]

In ENGLAND, one of the principal promoters of learning was RICHARD DE BURY, or AUNGERVILLE, bishop of Durham, who was born in 1281, and died in 1345. A man singularly learned, and so devoted to literature that he kept transcribers, binders, and illuminators in his palaces; and expended the whole of his ample income in purchasing scarce and curious manuscripts, for which purpose he employed agents not only in England, but in Italy, France, and Germany. Beside the fixed libraries which he had formed in his several palaces, the floor of his common apartment was so covered with books, that those who entered were in danger of trampling on them. By the favour of Edward III. he gained access to the libraries of the principal monasteries, where he shook off the dust from various volumes, (all MSS. as must necessarily be the case at that period,) preserved in chests and presses, which had not been opened for many ages; and while chancellor and treasurer of England, instead of the usual presents and new years' gifts appendant to his office, he chose to receive those perquisites in books.[51] The account given of him by honest John Stow, in his *Annales*, is too interesting not to be transcribed in his own words. "RICHARD BURY," says he, "is somewhat to bee remembred for example to other. He was borne neere Saint *Edmundsbury*. By his father, Sir RICHARD ANGARUILL, knight, and his uncle, Sir JOHN WILLOWBY, his gouernour, he was first set to grammer schoole, and after sent to Oxford, from whence hee was called to teach ED. of Windlesore, then prince: afterward

(50) Fox's Actes and Monumentes, I. pp. 502—511. Lond. 1570. fol.
(51) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, I. Diss. 2.

this RICHARD was made principall recieuer to EDWARDE the second in Gascoigne, at such time as yoong EDWARD with his mother fledde to Paris, whose expenses beginning to faile, the said RICHARD came to them priuily with a great somme of money, for the which cause he was pursued to Paris, where hee lay hid in a steeple by the space of seuen dayes. After this hee was made cofferer to Edward the third, then treasurer of the wardrobe, then clarke to the priuie seale by the space of fiue yeeres, in the which time twise hee went to Pope JOHN. In the sixe and fortieth yeere of his age he was consecrated bishoppe of Durham, then was hee made treasurer of England, and after chancellour, since the which time hee was sent thrise to the French king, to claim the kingdome of France, and after that, to Antwerpe and other places in Brabant, in embassage by the space of nine yeeres. He was greatly delighted in the company of clearkes, and hadde alwayes many of them in his family, among whom were THOMAS BRADWARDINE, afterward archbishoppe of Canterbury, RICHARD FITZ RALPH, archbishoppe of Armacham, WALTER BURLEY, JOHN MANDITT, ROBERT HOLCOT, RICHARD KILWINGTON, all of them doctors of diuinitie, RICHARD WENTWORTH, or BENIWORTH, byshoppe of London, and WALTER SEGRAUE, byshoppe of Chichester. Euery day at his table, hee was accustomed to haue some reading: and after dinner daily hee would haue disputation with his priuate clearkes, and other of his house, except some vrgent cause hadde let him. At other times hee was occupied, either in seruice of God, or at his bookes. Weekely he bestowed for the reliefe of the poore, eight quarters of wheat made into bread, besides the ordinary fragments of his house. Moreouer, in comming or going from Newcastle to Durham, hee bestowed sometimes twelue markes in almes, from Durham to Stockton eight markes, from Durham to Aukland fiue markes, from Durham to Middleham an hundred shil-

lings, &c. Hee was so delighted in bookes, that he hadde more (as was thought) then all the byshoppes of Englande besides. Hee bestowed many rich ornaments on the church of Durham. Hee builded an hall or house in Oxford, induing it with reuenues needefull for his schollers. And also prouided in a library great store of bookes,* for the vse of the whole universitie, as the said bishop writeth himselfe in his booke entituled 'PHILOBIBLOS,' and appoynted the maisters of the hall to assigne five scholers for keeping of the common library."[52]

Yet such was the influence of the general contempt in which the laity were held by the clergy, that, whilst this great man was lamenting the total ignorance of the *Greek language* among his clerical brethren, he did not scruple to affirm, "Laici omnium librorum communione indigni sunt:" "The laity are unworthy to be admitted to any commerce with books!" A sentiment which sufficiently discovers the profound ignorance which must have reigned among all ranks of society, the clergy excepted. With very different feelings will the reader of the present day peruse his opinion of *books*, when he says, "*Hi sunt magistri qui nos instruunt sine virgis et ferula, sine verbis et colera, sine pane et pecunia. Si accedis non dormiunt; inquiris non se abscondunt; non remurmurant si oberres; cachinnos nesciunt si ignores:*" "These are teachers who instruct us without rod or ferula, without severe expressions, or anger, without food, or money. When we come to them, they are not asleep; when we enquire for them, they do not secrete themselves; when we mistake them, they do not complain; if we are ignorant, they do not despise us." The treatise from which these passages are selected, was written with reference to the library which he bequeathed to the university of Oxford. It is entitled PHILOBIBLOS, or PHILOBIBLION, is written in Latin, in a

* See p. 5. of this volume.

(52) Stow's Annales, or Generall Chronicle of England, pp. 240, 241. Lond. 1615, fol.

declamatory style, and is divided into twenty chapters. In this work he laments that good literature had entirely ceased in the university of Paris, which he calls the *Paradise of the World;* and says, that he purchased there a variety of invaluable volumes in all sciences, which yet were neglected and perishing. This learned prelate died in 1345, at his palace at Auckland.[53]

In lieu of *books*, the laity appear to have been presented with *Paintings*, and *Theatrical Entertainments*. Henry III. who was a most munificent encourager of the fine arts, kept several painters constantly in his service. One chamber in the palace of Winchester was painted green, with stars of gold, and the whole *History of the Old and New Testament*. In one room in the palace of Westminster, and in another in the Tower of London, the history of the expedition of Richard I. into the Holy Land was painted. The coronation, wars, marriages, and funeral of Edward I. were painted on the walls of the great hall, in the episcopal palace in Lichfield, A.D. 1312, by order of Bishop Langton. The principal churches and chapels were furnished with representations of the Virgin Mary, the apostles, and other saints; and the walls of some of them almost covered with Scriptural, moral, and allegorical paintings. Friar Symeon, who wrote an *Itinerary* in 1322, thus describes a series of paintings in the royal palace at Westminster: "Near this monastery" (of Westminster) "stands the most famous royal palace of England, in which is that celebrated chamber, on whose walls, all the warlike histories of the whole *Bible* are painted with inexpressible skill, and explained by a regular and complete series of texts, beautifully written in French over each battle, to the no small admiration of the beholder, and the increase of royal magnificence." And Falcondus, the old historian of Sicily, relates, that at an earlier period, (about A.D. 1200,) the chapel of the

(53) Savage's Librarian, III. pp. 38—40. Lond. 1809, 8vo.

royal palace at Palermo, had its walls decorated with the *History of the Old and New Testament*, executed in beautiful Mosaic work.[54]

The *Theatrical Entertainments* of this period, especially those intended to represent the *Miracles* and *Mysteries* of Scripture, have been already noticed; it is therefore unnecessary to add any thing more, except to remark, that even on such occasions as the triumphant entry of a king or queen into any celebrated city, the pageants were almost always Scriptural or religious exhibitions.

Under these circumstances, Biblical studies were but seldom pursued, particularly during the former part of this century. Archbishop Usher, indeed, assigns a translation of the whole Bible into ENGLISH, to the close of the preceding century, and supposes several copies of it to be preserved at Oxford. But others have regarded these copies either as genuine, or corrected ones of Wiclif's version, or of that said to have been made by Trevisa. Dr. James in his *Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture*, conjectures that a version of the English Scriptures existed long before the time of Wiclif.[55] These, however, are mere suppositions; nor have we any decisive proof of any considerable portion of the Scriptures being translated into the modern English, earlier than about the middle of this century; unless the old GLOSSED BIBLE, which the Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke possesses, and of which he has given several specimens in the *General Preface* to his *Commentary*, should be considered of older date. Some translations indeed seem to have been made of the PSALTER, the CHURCH LESSONS, and HYMNS, and of some of the books of the NEW TESTAMENT, but they do not

(54) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, VIII. pp. 297—299. Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, II. pp. 216, 217.

(55) See Usserii Hist. Dogmat. p. 157. and Whartoni Auctarium, p. 424. — James's Corruption of Scripture, p. 74. and Baber's Account of English Versions, p. lxvi.

appear to have been published, being in all probability made for the translators' own use, or that of their immediate connexions. The date of these partial translations cannot be accurately ascertained, since, from the circumstance of being anonymous, the only way of judging of their age, is from the writing and language, which must necessarily render precision impossible.[56] With respect to the copy in the possession of Dr. A. Clarke, the following important communication, with which I have been obligingly favoured, will afford ample information.

"Of my large MS. English Bible, about which you inquire, I can only say, that I have reason to believe it to be earlier than the time of Wiclif. I reason thus from the *language*, which is of an older cast, and likewise the *orthography* and *construction* of the sentences. In many respects the New Testament in it, is dissimilar from the copies I have seen ascribed to Wiclif. Whether these have been amended, corrected, and altered, in later times, and mine is one of those which has undergone *no revisal*, but is just as Wiclif originally made it, I cannot say. This is merely a possible case; and if the supposition be founded, that mine is *Wiclif's* translation, it must necessarily follow, that all those which I have seen, and which *Lewis* has collated, have been *considerably altered;* and that there is not *so old* a copy of Wiclif remaining as my own. I am led to think that some of those copies examined by Lewis, are not Wiclif's; else those which he has principally followed, are *much altered* from the original. My conclusion, however, is simply this. Either mine is *before* Wiclif's time, because it differs so much from the copies generally ascribed to Wiclif; and from the text published by Lewis in 1731: or that text, and these from which it is taken, have been revised and altered from Wiclif's original, and mine is one of those which has not undergone such a revision."

(56) Lewis's Hist. of the English Translations of the Bible, p. 17.

"In what year my MS. was written, I cannot tell:—the writing and orthography are old enough for at least fourscore years before Wiclif, who began his translation in 1378, but that mine could not be written twenty years later than that, is absolutely evident from this circumstance, that it most evidently appears to have been *illuminated* for *Thomas of Woodstock*, brother of John of Gaunt, and Edward the Black Prince; and youngest son of Edward III. as it bears his *arms* in a shield at the beginning of Proverbs: arms which appear on his monument in Westminster Abbey; the singular *bordure* of which was never, so far as I can find, worn by any after his time. Now this Thomas of Woodstock was smothered between two feather beds, at Calais, by Thomas Mawbray, earl marshal of England, September 8th, 1397, at the command of Richard II. this prince's nephew. How long *before* 1397 this book was written, I cannot tell; but it must have been, in the nature of things, several years before this time." "I am, yours truly,

A. CLARKE."

The earliest translator of any part of the Scriptures into ENGLISH, in the *fourteenth century*, with whose *name* we are acquainted, was RICHARD ROLLE, an hermit of the order of St. Augustin, who resided in or near Hampole, in Yorkshire, whence he is sometimes called Richard of Hampole, or Richard Hampole. He wrote several Latin theological tracts, both in prose and verse. His *Stimulus Conscientiæ*, or *Pricke of Conscience*, was written first in Latin prose, and afterwards translated into English rhyme. Warton (*Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. I. pp. 256—266,) has given several specimens of this work, so celebrated in its day, but which, he remarks, "has no tincture of sentiment, imagination, or elegance." ROLLE was also the author of *Annotations*, or *Commentaries*, on the *Psalms;* the *Hymns of the Old Testament*, used in the

services of the church; part of the book of *Job*; the *Song of Solomon*; the *Lamentations* of Jeremiah; the *Revelation*; the *Lord's Prayer*; and the *Athanasian* and *Apostles' Creeds*; beside several other theological works.[57] Some of the annotations are more properly poetical paraphrases, than commentaries. His principal work was an ENGLISH version of the PSALMS. To this he prefixed a prologue, in which he thus speaks of the nature of his undertaking: "In this werke I seek no straunge *Ynglys*, bot lightest and communest, and swilk that is most like unto the *Latyne:* so that thai that knawes noght the *Latyne* be the *Ynglys* may com to many *Latyne* wordis. In the translacione I felogh the letter als-mekille as I may, and thor I fyne no proper *Ynglys* I felogh the wit of the wordis, so that thai that shalle rede it them thar not drede errynge. In the expownyng I felogh holi doctors. For it may comen into sum envious mannes hond that knowys not what he suld says, at wille say that I wist not what I sayd, and so do harme tille hym and tille other."[58] The Rev. H. H. Baber, in his *Historical Account of the Saxon and English Versions of the Scriptures*, prefixed to his edition of Wiclif's *New Testament*, has selected the xxiii. Psalm as a specimen of this translation, from a MS. in the British Museum.

"Our Lord gouerneth me, and nothyng to me shal wante: stede of pasture thar he me sette. In the water of the hetyng forth he me brougte: my soul he turnyde."

"He ladde me on the stretis of rygtwisnesse: for his name."

"For win gif I hadde goo in myddil of the shadewe of deeth: I shal not dreede yueles, for thou art with me."

"Thi geerde and thi staf: thei haue coumfortid me. Thou hast greythid in my sygt a bord: agens hem that angryn me."

(57) Cavei Hist. Litt. App. p. 35.
Le Long, II. p. 932.
(58) Lewis's Hist. of the English Translations of the Bible, p. 13.

"Thou fattide myn heud in oyle; and my chalys drunkenyng what is cleer."

"And thi mercy shal folewe me: in alle the dayes of my lyf."

"And that I wone in the hous of oure lord in the lengthe of dayes."

The *Commentary on the Psalms*, if we must judge of it from the following extract given by Lewis, was excessively dry and insipid:—Psalm ii. 1. "*Whi gnastide the folke? and the puple thoughte ydil thoughtis?* The prophete snybbyng hem that shulde turmente crist seith, *whi?* as hoo seith, what enchesun hadde thei? sotheli none but yuel wille for he contrariede her ivele lywing in werk and word. *the folke* thei were tha knyghtis of *rome*, that crucified crist, thei *gnastide* aghen hym as bestis wode without resoun: and *the puple* that was the iuwes, *thoughte in ydel* that is, in vayne was ther thoughte whan thei wend have holde crist evere deed that thei myghte not doo for thi in vayne thei trauelide as eche man doth that thoruh—pryde and ypocrisye weneth to hude cristis lawful ordenaunce."

The *Translation* is evidently made from the *Latin* Vulgate; and the *gloss*, or comment, formed after the model of the mystical and allegorical expositions of that age.[59]

An extract, translated from his tract *De Emendatione Peccatoris*, will give a more favourable idea of his theological writings:

"If you desire," says he, "to attain to the love of God, and to be influenced with the desire of heavenly joys, and to be brought to the contempt of earthly things, be not negligent in reading and meditating the *Holy Scriptures*, and especially those parts of them which inculcate morality, and teach us to beware of the snares of the devil; where they speak of the love of God, and of a contemplative life; but leave the more difficult passages to dispu-

(59) Lewis, *ut sup.*

tants, and ingenious men, who have been long exercised in sacred doctrines."

"This method assists us greatly to improve in what is good. In these we ascertain our failings and our improvements; in what things we have offended, and in what we have not; what we should avoid, and what we should practise. They discover most skilfully the machinations of our enemies; they inflame us to love, and move us to tears; and thus prepare for us a delicious feast, if we delight in them as in all riches. But let us not be urged to a knowledge of the Scriptures by any desire of the honour or favour of men, but only by a design of pleasing God, that we may know how to love him, and that we may teach our neighbour the same, and not that we may be considered as learned by the people. Nay, we ought rather to conceal our learning than to exhibit it to our own praise, as says the Psalmist: 'Thy Word have I hid in my heart,' (that is, from vain exhibition,) 'that I might not sin against thee.' Psalm cxix. 11. Therefore let the cause of our speaking be the glory of God, and the edification of our neighbour, that we may fulfil that Scripture, 'His praise shall be continually in my mouth;' Psalm xxxiv. 1. which is done when we do not seek our own praise, nor speak contrary to his glory."[60]

The piety of the author caused him to be regarded as a saint; and on the termination of his mortal sufferings, in 1349, he was buried in the convent of Hampole. At a later period, Henry Parker, Lord Morley, a nobleman and poet, who died an old man in the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. and who has been mentioned by Bishop Bale, as the author of certain *Tragedies* and *Comedies*, by which was probably meant *Mysteries* and *Moralities*, gave a proof rather of his piety, than taste, by presenting to the Princess Mary, as a new year's gift, HAMPOLE'S COMMENTARY ON THE SEVEN PENITENTIAL

(60) Biblioth. Pat. XXVI. cap. ix. p. 614.

PSALMS. This MS. with his Epistle prefixed, is still preserved among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum.[61]

JOHN DE TREVISA, who flourished towards the close of this century, has also been enumerated among the first translators of the Bible into ENGLISH. He was born at Caradoc, in the county of Cornwall, and educated at Oxford. His learning and talents gained him the patronage of Earl Berkeley, who appointed him his chaplain, and presented him to the vicarage of Berkeley, in Gloucestershire. He was also canon of Westbury, in Wiltshire. Warton, in his *History of English Poetry*, vol. I. p. 343, speaks of him as having been a great traveller; and Ant. Wood (Antiq. Oxon.) says, "He was a man of extensive erudition, and of considerable eloquence; and one of the first who laboured to polish his native language, and rescue it from barbarism." At the request of his munificent patron, he engaged in the translation of several Latin works into English, particularly "Higden's *Polychronicon*;" "Bartholomæus *De Proprietatibus Rerum*;" "Vegetius *De Arte Militari*;" and "Ægidius Romanus *De Regimine Principum*;" beside some others of inferior note. The most complete collection of his writings is in a ponderous MS. folio volume, written upon vellum, and preserved among the Harleian MSS. No. 1900, in the British Museum. This volume contains several *Tracts*, of which the following have been mentioned: 1. *A Dialogue between a Soldier and a Clergyman*, (viz. Lord Berkeley and the author Trevisa.) 2. *A Translation of a Latin Sermon of Radulf, or Fitz-Rauf, archbishop of Armagh*, Nov. 8th, 1357, against Mendicant friars. 3. *The Book of Methodius Patarensis*, "of the begynnyng of the world and the Rewmes bitwixte, of Folkis, and the end of Worldes—which the noble man Syent Jerom ī his werkes prysed." 4, 5. *Two Alphabetical Indexes to the Polychronicon.* 6. *Dialogue on*

(61) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, III. p. 85.

Translations. This *Dialogue,* between a Clergyman and his Patron, (viz. Trevisa and Lord Berkeley) discusses the *Utility of Translations* in general, and of that of the *Polychronicon,* to which it was first prefixed, in particular. The following extract from it will exhibit his mode of reasoning:

"The CLERKE. The latyn is bothe good and fayre; therfore it nedeth not to haue an Englysshe translacyon.

"The LORDE. A blere eyed man but he were all blynde of wytte myght se the solucyon of this reason. And though he were blynde he myght grope the solucyon. But yf his feelynge hym fayled. For yf this reason were ought worthe, by suche maner arguynge me myght proue that the threscore and thyne interpretours and Aquyla, Symachus, Theodocion, and Origines, were lewdli* occupyed whan they translated holy wryte out of hebrewe into grece, and also that Saynte Jherome was lewdly occupyed when he translated holy wryte out of hebrewe into latyn. For the hebrewe is both good and fayre and I wryte by inspyracyon of the holy goost. And all these for theyr translacyons ben hygely preysed of all holy chirche."

Also holy wryte in latyn is bothe good and fayr. And yet for to make a sermon of holy wryte all in latyn to men that can Englysshe and noo latyn, it were a lewde dede, for they be neuer the wiser. For the latyn but it be tolde them in Englysshe what it is to mene. And it maye not be tolde in Englysshe what the latyn is to mene without translacyon out of latyn into Englysshe. Thenne it nedeth to haue an Englysshe translacyon, and for to kepe it in mynde that it be not forgeten it is better that suche a translacyon be made and wryten than sayd and not wryten and so this forsayde lewde reason shol demene no man that hath any wytte to leve the makyng of Englysshe translacyon."

* * * * * * * * * * *

* *Lewd,* ignorant; hence, perhaps, *lewd-man,* a layman. † Probably the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite.

"Also at prayenge of King Charles Johan Scot translated denys bokes† out of greke into latyn, and then out of latyn into frensshe, then what hath Englysshe trespaced that it myght not be translated into Englysshe. Also kynge Alurede that founded the vnyuersyte of Oxonford translated the best lawes into Englysshe tongue. And a grete dele of the Psalter out of latyn in to Englysshe. And caused Wyrefryth bysshop of Wyrcetre to translate saynt Gregoryes bokes the Dyalogues out of latyn into Saxons. Also Cedmon of Whytley was enspyred of the holy goost and made wonder Poysyes into Englysshe nyghe of all the storyes of holy wryte. Also the holy man Beda translated saynt Johan's gospell out of latyn into Englysshe. Also thou wotest wher the Apocalypsys is wryten in the walles and roof of chappell bothe in latyn and in frensshe. Also the gospell and prophecye and the ryght fayth of holy chyrche muste be taught and preched to englisshe men that can* noo latyn. Thenne the gospell and prophecye and the right fayth of holy chyrche must be told them in englysshe, and that is not done but by Englysshe translacyon, for such Englysshe prechynge is very translacyon, and suche Englysshe preching is good and nedefull, thenn Englysshe translacyon is good and nedeful."

"The Clerke. Yf a translacyon were made that myght be amended in ony point. Some men it wolde blame."

"The Lorde. Yf men blame that is not worthy to be blamed thenne they by to blame. Clerkes know e well ynoughe that noo synfull man dothe soo well that it ne myght do better, ne make so good a translacyon that he ne myght be better. Therfore Origines made two translacyons. And Jherom translated thryes the Psalter."[62]

On the subject of Trevisa's *Translation of the* Bible, writers are divided in their opinions. For whilst some have strenuously maintained that he was the author of a translation of the Bible, others have obstinately denied

* *Can*, know.

(62) Polychronicon, lib. i. Dyalogue Fo. ii.

the claim, and have asserted that he did no more than translate certain sentences, which were painted on the chapel-walls, in Berkeley castle. The affirmative opinion was first taken up by Bale and Pits, from a loose assertion of Caxton, in the Proheme of his edition of the *Polychronicon;* but on what authority our printer asserted it, or if he *saw* such a translation, why he did not think it at least as deserving of publication as the *Polychronicon,* are questions which may be thought to press hard upon the probability of its existence. The learned Wanley, the compiler of the catalogue of the Harleian MSS. has the following pithy observations upon it: "As to the Bible's being wholly translated by our author Trevisa, I perceive it mentioned by Caxton, and from him by Bale and Pits, who give the beginning of the preface thereunto; from Bale, Primate Usher takes the notion; and at length Mr. Wharton believes it may still be extant. I shall say no more but this: I shall be very glad to see one of them." *Harl. Cat. MS*S. No. 1900.[63] The Rev. T. F. DIBDIN, whose extensive bibliographical researches are universally known and acknowledged, has given some novel and interesting information respecting Trevisa's translation, in his *Typographical Antiquities,* vol. I. p. 142.

"It happened," says he, "on the second course of Lectures on Ancient English Literature, which I delivered at the Royal Institution, having occasion to examine the literary character of Trevisa, and being very solicitous to obtain the minutest information relating to *this Bible,* I wrote to my friend the Rev. Mr. Hughes, who was

(63) Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, I. *Account of books printed by W. Caxton,* p. 140. Lond. 1810, 4to.

* The writer of the present work cannot permit the opportunity to pass, without publicly acknowledging his obligations to the ingenious and laborious editor of the *Typographical Antiquities;* who, on the solicitation of a stranger, gave him, in the most handsome manner, permission to "avail himself of any portion of his works, which he was disposed to think might be of the *least* importance to his pursuits."

resident in the earl of Berkeley's family, at Berkeley Castle. His reply to my queries, with his permission, I lay before the reader; from a conviction that it may afford him some satisfaction on so interesting a subject.

Berkeley Castle, Nov. 7th, 1805.

'I take the earliest opportunity of answering your's, having been here but a few days. I have made every inquiry and search respecting the information you want, and am sorry to say it is not in my power to remove the uncertainty you labour under respecting Trevisa's translation of the Bible; notwithstanding I have the strongest reason to suppose, from circumstances I have met with, that such a translation was made, and was even made in the English language, and that it existed in this family so late as the time of James II. The book translated by Trevisa, was given, *as a very precious gift*, by the lord of Berkeley to the prince (I suppose) of Wales, and the prince's letter, thanking the lord of Berkeley for his gift, I have read: he does not say *positively* that it was the Bible, but as he hopes (as far as I recollect) to be able to make good use of so valuable a gift, there is reason to suspect that he meant the Bible. The letter is still extant among the archives of the castle. Lord Berkeley (of whom I have made inquiries in order to ascertain what you wanted, if possible) has informed me, that the book given by his ancestor, is at present, as he has reason to believe, in the Vatican at Rome: when he was there several persons had mentioned their seeing such a book written by Trevisa, but he had not an opportunity to go and examine it himself, therefore *cannot ascertain that it was the Bible.* The only vestige of Trevisa remaining here now, are a few fragments of board, with nearly obliterated words of Latin, not sufficient to make out what was meant: the roof of this chapel was said by him to have had the Apocalypse written upon it, and I suspect these fragments to be the remains of it. The beams and wall-plates of the chapel

are still remaining, and after removing several coats of lamp-black, &c. four lines were discovered upon each, written in the old English character, which are alternately Norman-French, and Latin. By removing also several coats of whitewash from a part of the chapel wall, a great deal of writing in the old English character was discovered; it was in a great state of decay, but I could make out that part of it was in Norman French, and part in Latin; this is also thought to be of Trevisa's day: but not one certain vestige of him remains here, nor is even his grave in the church known, though he is said to have been buried in the chancel. I suspect all his translations both from French and Latin, were into English, but suspicions won't do for you. I wish it were in my power to give you more certain information.

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN HUGHES."

In reply also to what has been urged against Caxton's assertion of a translation having been made by Trevisa, it is sufficient to remark, that the danger attending the printing of an English Bible, in Caxton's time, was such, that it would have required the utmost religious intrepidity to have attempted it; and that it is therefore highly probable, that whatever preference our printer might have for the Scriptures, he would not place his life in jeopardy for its publication. Sir Thomas More, (Dyalogeś, Fol. 49, Col. 1. Ed. 1529) thus defends the printers of that age. "That on account of the penalties ordered by Archbishop Arundel's constitution, though the old translations that were before Wycliff's days remayned lawful and were in some folkys handys had and red, yet he thought no prynter would lyghtly be so hote to put any byble in prent at hys owne charge, whereof the loss should lie wholly on his own necke, and then hange upon a doubtfull tryall whyther the fyrst copy of his translacyon was made before Wycliff's dayes or synnes. For yff yt were

made synnys, yt must be approued byfore the pryntyng.' But such an approbation, Sir Thomas intimates, was not then to be had.[64]

Trevisa finished his translation of the *Polychronicon* in 1387; and is said to have died in the year 1412, at a very advanced age.

But whatever judgment may be formed as to the translation by Trevisa, all are agreed that WICLIF, the *Morning Star of the Reformation,* engaged in a translation of the *whole* BIBLE into English, which he completed A. D. 1380.

The opposition made by this great reformer to the tyranny of papacy, and the vices of the friars, drew down upon him the thunders of the papal hierarchy, and subjected him to all the virulence of irritated ecclesiastics. His protests against their domination were declared to be the consequence of disappointed ambition; and his sentiments respecting the eucharist, were denounced as heretical. To combat the arguments of his adversaries, and to defend himself against the attacks of power, and learning, and interest, he flew to the WORD OF GOD, and found it "a strong hold in the day of trouble." Skilled in all the niceties of school divinity, in which he is said to have reigned without a rival, he was able to expose the sophistry of the subtilest of his enemies: but only the *Sacred Scriptures* could furnish him with a system of truth, and with the plain and lucid arguments by which that truth is best defended. The more powerful that his opponents became, and the greater the difficulties which he had to encounter, the more precious became the Bible, the more diligently did he study it, and the more strenuously did he recommend it to general attention, and universal perusal.

Of the necessity that existed for an English translation of the Bible, arising from the ignorance of both clergy

(64) Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, *Life of Caxton,* p. cxii.

and laity, the writings of Wiclif afford ample proof. In his *Great Sentence of Curse expounded,* he assures us, that in his time there were "many unable curates that kunnen not the Ten Commandments, ne read their Sauter, ne understond a verse of it." Nay that it was then "notorious that too many of even the prelates were sinners, in their being ignorant of the Law of GOD, and that the freres supplied, for the bishops, the office of preaching, which they did in so false and sophistical a manner, that the church was deceyved instead of being edified." In his tract entitled the *Wickett,* he says the clergy affirmed, "It is heresy to speake of the Holy Scripture in *English;* and so they woulde condempne the Holy Goste that gave it in tongues to the apostles of Christe, as it is written to speake the Worde of GOD, in all languages that were ordayned of GOD under heaven, as it is wrytten:" and again in the *Husbandman's Prayer and Complaint,* he complains, "Thilk that have the key of conning have y lockt the truth of thy teaching under many wardes, and y hid fro thy children."[65]

The views which this great man entertained of the distinction betwixt the *Canonical* and *Apocryphal* writings, and of the qualifications requisite for *an expositor of Scripture,* discover the correctness of his judgment, and prepare us for receiving him as a distingushed and intelligent translator of the Sacred Writings. "I think it absurd," says he "to be warm in defence of the *Apocryphal Books,* when we have so many which are undeniably authentic. In order to distinguish canonical books from such as are apocryphal, use the following rules: 1. Look into the New Testament, and see what books of the Old Testament are therein cited and authenticated by the Holy Ghost. 2. Consider whether the like doctrine be delivered by the Holy Ghost elsewhere in the Scriptures." And speaking of an expositor of Scripture, he observes: "1. He should

(65) Lewis's Life of Wicliffe, pp. 38, 67.

be able by collation of manuscripts to settle well the Sacred Text. 2. He should be conversant in logic. 3. He should be constantly engaged in comparing one part of Scripture with another. 4. The student should be a man of prayer, and his disposition should be upright. 5. He needs the internal instruction of the Primary Teacher:" remarking, in another part of his writings, that "some are enlightened from above that they may explain the proper, literal, and historical sense of Scripture, in which sense all things necessary in Scripture are contained."[66] Probably intending by this last remark, to guard his readers against the fantastic and allegorical method of expounding the Scriptures, which had been so prevalent in the church since the time of Origen, whose ardent and sportive imagination had indulged itself without restraint in figurative and fanciful interpretations of the Divine Oracles. This anxiety, that expositors should give the just sense of Scripture, led him to urge the necessity of seeking illumination from the inspirer of the Sacred Word; hence the direction to the student to be "a man of prayer;" and hence also his observation, that "Sanctity of life promotes this illumination so necessary for understanding the revealed Word; to continue which in the church is the duty of theologians, who ought to remain within their proper limits, and not invent things foreign to the faith of Scripture."[67]

Under the influence of these views of the nature and importance of a faithful and perspicuous TRANSLATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, into the vernacular language of the nation, our reformer entered upon the vast undertaking. In this work Wiclif appears to have been assisted by other learned men, whose religious opinions were similar to his own; though it is not now possible to say to what extent they rendered him assistance. The Rev.

(66) See Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, IV. pp. 132—134.
(67) Milner, *ut sup.*

H. H. Baber, in his "Historical Account of Saxon and English Versions of the Scriptures," says, that in a MS. of Wiclif's Bible, in the valuable library of Mr. Douce, *explicit translacionem Nicholaj de Herford,* is written at the end of a portion of the book of Baruch, (viz. the two first chapters, and part of the third) and adds, that "this remarkable notice is subscribed by a different hand and with a less durable ink, than that used by the transcriber of the MS. and if not written by Herford himself, was probably done by one who had good authority for what he thus asserted by his pen." This NICHOLAS DE HEREFORD, or HEREFORD, was of Queen's College, Oxford, and a strenuous asserter of Wiclif's doctrines. On this account he was cited to appear, with *John Aston,* priest, and *Philip Rampingdon,* or *Repingden,* two of the reformer's disciples, before Archbishop Courtney, at his court held at the Preaching Friars, London, in 1382. The answers which he and Dr. Repingdon gave in writing to the court, being adjudged insufficent, heretical, and deceitful, they were ordered to appear again eight days afterwards, but not then appearing, they were declared contumacious, and excommunicated with all their adherents. Afterwards he recanted his principles, but did not escape persecution; for Archbishop Arundel, who was jealous of his principles, threw him into prison, and never afterwards released him from imprisonment.[68]

The MSS. of Wiclif's version are numerous, and are to be found in most of the public libraries of the United Kingdom, and in some of the valuable libraries of private individuals. At the end of some of these copies are tables of the portions of Scripture appointed to be read, or selected, for the "Pistlis" and Gospels, throughout the service of the year. Sometimes we find these lessons transcribed at length, and in some instances of a different translation from that to which they are annexed. An edi-

(68) Lewis's Life of Wicliffe, pp. 208—212.

tion, consisting of only 140 copies, of Wiclif's New Testament, was published in 1731, in folio, by the Rev. John Lewis, Minister of Margate, in the county of Kent, who prefixed a "History of the English Translations of the Bible:" printed separately, with additions, in octavo, in 1739. Another edition of this translation of the New Testament, accompanied with "Memoirs of the Life &c. of John Wiclif, D. D." an excellent "Historical Account of the Saxon and English Versions of the Scriptures, previous to the opening of the Fifteenth Century," and a Portrait of our great Reformer, was published by the Rev. Henry Hervey Baber, M. A. an assistant-librarian of the British Museum, and an assistant-preacher at Lincoln's Inn, in 1810, beautifully printed in 4to. by R. Edwards, London. These are the only editions yet published of any part of this translation, and we have still to lament that the larger portion, the OLD TESTAMENT, of a work so interesting to the theologian and philologist, hitherto remains in MS. without a single printed edition, notwithstanding the last-mentioned editor, with an highly creditable zeal, thus expresses himself in the *Preface* to his edition of the New Testament: "I would gladly have extended my labours, by giving to the world Wiclif's version of the Old as well as of the New Testament, (a work which no man hath yet had the courage to attempt,) and hence have wiped away a reproach which a learned foreigner* hath, with too much reason, cast upon England; but as my fortune is by no means commensurate with my zeal, I must, I fear, relinquish even the most distant hope of ever engaging in such an honourable employment."

This translation was made by Wiclif from the *Latin* Bibles then in common use, or which were at that time

* Fabricius, after mentioning Wiclif's version of the Bible, thus expresses himself: "mirum vero est, Anglos eam [versionem] tam diu neglexisse, quum vel linguæ causa ipsis in pretio esse debeat." *Bibl. Lat. et inf. ætatis*, V. p. 321. edit. 1754.

usually read in the church; the reason of which seems to have been, not that he thought the *Latin* the original, or of the same authority with the *Hebrew* and *Greek* text, but because he did not understand those languages sufficiently to translate from them; few at that time possessing an extensive or critical acquaintance with them. He also translated word for word, as had been done before in the Anglo-Saxon version, without always observing the idioms of the different languages, which renders this translation not very intelligible, in some places, to those who do not understand Latin. This was probably done, as is said in a prologue to the Psalter of this translation, that "they who knew not the *Latin*, by the *English* might come to many *Latin* words."[69]

No sooner had Wiclif completed his translation, and made it public, than he experienced the most violent opposition. The translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue was accounted heresy, and regarded as a measure fraught with the direst ills. Henry de Knyghton, a canon of Leicester, and cotemporary with Wiclif, thus declaims against the translation, in his work *De Eventis Angliæ*: "Christ committed the Gospel to the clergy and doctors of the church, that they might minister it to the laity and weaker persons, according to the exigency of times, and persons, and wants; but this Master JOHN WICLIF translated it out of *Latin* into *English*, and by that means laid it more open to the laity, and to women who could read, than it used to be to the most learned of the clergy, and those of them who had the best understanding: and so the Gospel pearl is cast abroad and trodden under foot of swine, and that which used to be precious to both clergy and laity is made, as it were, the common jest of both; and the jewel of the church is turned into the sport of the laity, and what was before the chief talent of the clergy and doctors of the

(69) Lewis's Hist. of English Translations, p. 19.

church, is made for ever common to the laity.[70] William Butler, a Franciscan friar, in a tract written against this translation, pursues the point so far as to assert, that "the prelates ought not to suffer, that *every one at his pleasure should read the Scripture* translated (even) into Latin; because, as is plain from experience, this has been many ways the occasion of falling into heresies and errors. It is not therefore politic, that *any one*, whèresoever and whensoever he will, should give himself to the frequent study of the Scriptures."[71]

Wiclif himself, in an homily on Matthew xi. 23, thus complains of the severe usage he met with on account of translating the Holy Scriptures. "He, Antecrist," says he, "hath turned hyse clerkes to covetyse and worldely love, and so blynded the peple and derked the Law of *Crist*, that hys servauntes ben thikke and few ben on Cristes syde; and algates they dyspysen that men shulden knowe *Crystes* lyfe, for thenne priestes schulden schome of hyre lyves, and specially these hye prestes, for thei reversen *crist* both in worde and in dede. And herfore on gret byschop of *englelond** is yuel payed, that GODDE's

(70) Lewis's Life of Wicliffe, p. 67.

(71) Ibid. p. 71.

* By *one great Bishop of England*, is probably meant *John Bokyngham*, or *Bukkingham*, at this time bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Wiclif was promoted, and by whom, it seems, he was summoned and prosecuted for translating the Scriptures into English. By *another priest*, he seems to intend *Wylliam de Swyndurby*, a priest of Leicester, in this diocese, and a favourer of the sentiments of Wiclif. Knyghton tells us, that "the common people called him William the *Hermit*, from having formerly adopted that mode of life, and that at his first coming to Leicester, he conformed to the usual habits of life, and conversed with the people, but beginning to 'preach against the faults, and particularly the pride of women,' they were so incensed against him, that they proposed to stone him out of the place, till he changed his subject, and preached against the rich, and against their pride, and vanity, and excessive love of this world. Afterwards he directed his declamations against the clergy and the church, affirming that the clergy 'lived lewd lives, and did ill receive the goods of the church, and spend them worse;' and preaching that 'parishioners were not obliged to pay their tithes and offerings to the clergy, if they did not live chastely, and in all other respects as became the priests of God; or if they did not stay in

lawe is written in englysche to lewede men, and he pursueth a prest for he wryteth to men this englysche, and sompneth hym and traveleth hym that hyt is harde to hym to route. And thus he pursueth another prest by the help of the pharyses, [i. e. the friars] for he precheth *criste's* gospel frely withouten fables. O men that ben

---

their parishes, and spend the goods of the church where they received them; or if they were unskilled in, or not ready in speaking the language in which they were to preach, so that they could not duly or sufficiently instruct the people." "He preached likewise," adds Knyghton, that "men might, consistent with charity, ask those who owed them money for what they were indebted to them, but might by no means sue them, or imprison them for debt;" and that "no one who lived contrary to the Law of God was a priest, notwithstanding he might have been ordained by the bishop." By these, and similar doctrines, the same author informs us, *Swyndurby* captivated the affections of the people, so that they declared they had never seen nor heard any one who so well explained the truth to them, and "reverenced him as another god."

When Bishop Bukkyngham heard of his proceedings, he immediately suspended him from all preaching in any chapel, church, or church-yard, within the diocese of Lincoln; and inhibited the people that none of them should presume to hear him preach, nor favour the preacher, under the penalty of excommunication. Swyndurby, however, was not to be deterred; but on hearing the interdict of the bishop, made himself a pulpit on two millstones, which stood in the High-street, near the chapel he had formerly occupied, where he called the people together, and preached to them many times, saying "He could and would, in spite of the bishop's teeth, preach in the king's highway, so long as he had the good will of the people." Then you might see, says Knyghton, throngs of people from every part, as well from the town as country, double the number that there used to be when they might hear him preach much more lawfully, pressing to hear him preach after this inhibition and thundering out the sentence of excommunication, which had been denounced in the abbey and many other churches. The bishop therefore cited him to appear in the cathedral of Lincoln. Knyghton says, that being convicted, he abjured his errors, but afterwards relapsed, and went to Coventry, where he was expelled the diocese, with shame and contempt, by the diocesan and clergy. This account, however, can scarcely be admitted; for it is not probable, that if he had been convicted of heresy and error, and had publicly adjured, and afterwards relapsed, he would have been so gently dealt with. Walsingham's acccount is therefore more probable, who says, that "when the bishop of Lincoln had made preparations to correct this man, and to take away from him his license to preach, the mad multitude raged in such a manner as frightened the bishop, and deterred him from proceeding against him." What became of him afterwards is unknown: Fox, in his *Actes and Monumentes*, conjectures that he was burnt in the following reign. See Lewis's *Life of Wicliffe*, pp. 222—228.

of *criste's* half, helpe ye nowe ageyns Antecrist. For the perelouse tyme is comen that *crist* and *poule* [Paul] tolden byfore. But on coumfort is of knyghtes* that they saveren muche the gospel, and have wylle to rede in *englysche* the gospel of *crist's* lyf" [72]

But our reformer, who had long and zealously vindicated the propriety of a translation of the Bible into the English language, was only the more convinced, by the opposition of his enemies, and by the weakness of their arguments, of the importance and utility of such an undertaking. The following extracts will exhibit the manner in which this great man defended the right of the people to read the Scriptures, and to have a translation of them into their mother tongue. "The Scripture," he observes, "is the faith of the church, and the more it is known in an orthodox sense, the better; therefore, as secular men ought to know the faith, so it is to be taught them in whatever language is best known to them. Besides, since the truth of the faith is clearer, and more exact, in the Scripture, than the priests know how to express it; and that, if one may say so, there are many prelates who are too ignorant of Scripture, and others who conceal what is contained in it; it seems useful, that the faithful should themselves search out, or discover the sense of the faith, by having the Scriptures in a language which they know and understand. Moreover, according to the Apostle, *Hebrews* xi. the saints by faith overcame kingdoms, and chiefly by the motive of faith hastened to their own country: why, therefore, ought not the fountain of faith to be made known to the people by those means, that will enable a man to know it more clearly?

* "The soldiers, with the dukes and earls, were the chief adherents and favourers of this sect. They were their most strenuous promoters, and boldest combatants;—their most powerful defenders, and their invincible protectors." Knyghton, *De Event.* quoted by Lewis in his *History of English Translations,* p. 22, note.

(72) Lewis's Hist. of the English Translations, pp. 21, 22.

He who hinders this, or murmurs against it, does his endeavour to cause the people to continue in a damnable and unbelieving state. So the laws which are made by prelates are not to be received as matters of faith; nor are we to believe their words or discourses, any farther than they are founded on Scripture, for, according to the constant doctrine of *Augustin*, 'the Scripture is all the truth.' A translation of the Scriptures, therefore, would do this good, that it would render priests and prelates unsuspected as to the words of it, which they explain. Christ and his apostles converted men, by making known to them the Scripture in a language which was familiar to the people; and for this purpose the Holy Spirit gave the apostles the knowledge of tongues. Why then ought not the modern disciples of Christ, to collect fragments from the same loaf; and as they did, clearly and plainly open the Scriptures to the people, that they may know them? Besides, since, according to what the apostle teaches, all *must stand before the judgment-seat of Christ*, and be answerable to him for all the goods with which he has entrusted them, it is necessary that all the faithful should know these goods and the use of them, that their answer may then be ready. For an answer by a prelate, or an attorney, will not *then* avail, but every one *must* answer in his *own* person."[73]

Our renowned reformer, JOHN DE WICLIF,* it is supposed, was born about the year 1324, in the parish of Wiclif, a village near Richmond, in Yorkshire. He was first a commoner of Queen's College, Oxford, then newly founded by Robert Eaglesfield, chaplain to Queen Philippina, consort of Edward III. From thence he was soon removed to Merton College, which was at that time es-

(73) Lewis's Life of Wicliffe, ch. v. p. 69.

* This mode of spelling our reformer's name, I have adopted from Baber, who remarks, that "it is so spelt in the oldest document in which his name is known to appear, viz. in the instrument which nominated him one of the embassy to meet the pope's delegates, in 1374.

teemed one of the most famous seminaries of learning in Europe, where he was a probationer, and afterwards fellow. Here Wiclif availed himself of the high advantages he enjoyed, and by the native vigour of his mind, united to uncommon application, rose to the first rank of literary eminence. He is said to have committed to memory the most intricate part of the writings of the *Stagyrite;* and to have been an unrivalled disputant in the theology of the schools. He was excellently versed in the knowledge of civil and canon law in general, and of our own municipal laws in particular. But the Holy Scriptures were his principal study and chief delight, which was probably what gained him the title of *Doctor Evangelicus*, the Evangelic Doctor. Next to the Scriptures, he esteemed and studied the works of *Augustin*, *Jerom*, *Ambrose*, and *Gregory*. He was also a great admirer of the writings of Bishop *Grosseteste*, and of Archbishop *Fitzralph*.* His defence of the university against the encroachments of the Mendicant friars, gained him very general approbation; and in 1361, he was advanced to the dignity of Master of Baliol College, and four years afterwards to that of Warden of Canterbury Hall. From this office he was ejected in 1367, by Archbishop Langham, with circumstances of great injustice. Wiclif appealed to the pope, who for some years artfully suspended the decision, but in 1370 confirmed the ejection, owing, as has been conjectured, partly to the pope's partiality for the Mendicants, and partly to Wiclif's defence of King Edward III. against the homage demanded by the pope.

In 1372, Wiclif began to read public lectures on divinity, in the university. At first he gently and covertly attacked the reigning abuses of the friars, and the general corruptions of papacy; but finding he gained the attention of his hearers, he openly and boldly exposed whatever he

* See vol. I. p. 453, and vol. II. p. 47, of this work.

deemed erroneous in the habits of the ecclesiastics, or the doctrines of the church. His intrepidity increased his fame, and he was almost every where regarded as the great defender of liberty and truth; except by the minions of the pope, who never ceased to pursue the object of their hate with every species of malignant rage. In 1374, he was sent by the king, in conjunction with the bishop of Bangor and others, upon an embassy to the pope, to treat concerning the liberties of the church of England; and in the same year was presented by Edward to the valuable rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. Afterwards, in 1375, he was confirmed in the prebend of Auste, in the collegiate church of Westbury, in Gloucestershire; and is said to have been again employed in a diplomatic character, being delegated with several barons of the realm to the court of the duke of Milan.

The embassies in which our reformer was engaged, and the extensive opportunities he thus possessed of examining the haughty claims of the Romish pontiff, and of marking the universal degeneracy of the papal hierarchy, roused his indignation, and sharpened his invectives, against those who palliated or defended the gross depravities of the monks and friars, or the shameless oppressions of the papal court. Stung by the keenness of his censures, the Romish clergy rallied their forces, selected from his works nineteen articles of complaint and accusation, and dispatched them to the pope. Bull after bull was transmitted by his holiness to England, to demand the trial of the arch-heretic, and the condemnation of his writings. These the government and university long treated with contempt; and though the university of Oxford at last yielded to receive the papal mandate, they refused to lend the least active assistance against Wiclif. But the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, the resolute advocates of the papacy, cited him to appear before them on the thirtieth day after the

notice. Wiclif immediately placed himself under the protection of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who had long known and esteemed him. By the advice of this nobleman, who accompanied him in person, he obeyed the citation; where the haughty and insulting expressions of the bishop of London to Lord Percy, so irritated the duke, that he treated the bishop with contumely and contempt; the court broke up in tumult and confusion; and Wiclif was dismissed with an admonition not to repeat his obnoxious doctrines, either in the schools or the pulpit.

The death of the duke of Lancaster emboldening the English prelates, they again cited the heretic to appear before them, in 1378, when he was again rescued by the populace, and the authority of the queen dowager, widow of the Black Prince. The same year their commission ceased, by the death of the pope, Gregory XI. A double election ensued, the rival popes assuming the respective names of Urban VI. and Clement VII. though Urban at last proved the successful candidate. This event was noticed by Wiclif, in a tract *Of the Schism of the Roman Pontiffs;* and shortly after he published another, *Of the Truth of the Scripture.* In the latter he contends for the translation of the Scriptures into English; and affirms, that God's will is plainly revealed in two Testaments;—that Christ's Law sufficeth by itself to rule Christ's church;—that a Christian-man, well understanding it, may thence gather sufficient knowledge during his pilgrimage here upon earth;—and that, whereas all truth is contained in Holy Scripture, whatever disputation is not originally thence to be deduced, is to be accounted profane.

The extraordinary exertions, and the harassing persecutions, which Wiclif underwent during the year 1378, occasioned a fit of sickness, that brought him almost to the point of death. Immediately on hearing of it, the Mendicant friars selected *four* grave doctors from their

four orders, and after certain instructions, sent them, with four respectable citizens, aldermen of the wards, to the afflicted reformer. These commissioners found him lying in his bed, and are said, first of all, to have wished him health and recovery from sickness. After some time, they reminded him of the many and great injuries he had done to the Mendicant friars, by his sermons and writings, and exhorted him, that as he was now near death, he would, as a true penitent, bewail and revoke, in their presence, whatever he had said to their disparagement. But Wiclif, immediately recovering strength, called his servants, and ordered them to raise him a little on his pillows. This being done, he said with a loud voice, "I SHALL NOT DIE BUT LIVE, AND DECLARE THE EVIL DEEDS OF THE FRIARS." On hearing this, the doctors and their associates left him in great confusion; and the sick man soon recovered according to his prediction.

The year after his recovery from this sickness, this defender of the truth seems to have completed and published his TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE, A. D. 1380; and soon afterwards commenced a public attack upon the doctrine of *Transubstantiation.* This he did in the lectures which he delivered at Oxford, in the summer of 1381. Violent and various were the measures adopted against him, in consequence of this opposition to the favourite doctrine of the church of Rome. The prelates again summoned him to appear before them; the parliament, to which he appealed, rejected his appeal; and, at the instigation of his great adversary Courtney, formerly bishop of London, but now archbishop of Canterbury, passed an act against his "Conclusions," or opinions on the subject; his patron, the duke of Lancaster, advised submission; and he was at length dismissed from the chair of the divinity-professor, which he had, for so many years, filled with unequalled applause.

But although compelled to quit the university, and

retire to the rectory of Lutterworth, he pursued his studies, and continued his endeavours to promote the reformation of the church. Among the writings which distinguished his retirement, was a tract on the causes *Why pore priests have no benefices;* written in defence of his followers. The reasons he assigns for their being without benefices, or not accepting them, are, 1. The fear of simony: 2. The fear of mispending poor men's goods: 3. The fear of being prevented from better occupation, or greater usefulness to the church, by being restricted to a single cure or parish. In the chapter on simony, he thus describes the nefarious practices which then existed. "Some lords to colouren their symony wole not take for themselves, but kenerchiefs for the lady, or a palfray, or a tun of wine. And when some lords wolden present a good man, and able for love of GOD, and Christen souls, then some ladies ben means to have a dancer, or tripper on tapits, or hunter, or hawker, or a wild player of summers gamenes, for flattering and gifts going betwixe."

The contest between Pope Urban VI. and the *French*, who were the friends of his rival, occasioned the pontiff to determine upon war. With this view, and to enable him to raise an army of sufficient force, plenary indulgencies and pardons were promised to all who would afford personal or pecuniary aid. A bull to this effect was sent to Henry le Spencer, bishop of Norwich, who readily entered into the views of the pope, and obtained numerous contributors; so that even women presented their jewels, neck-laces, rings, dishes, plates, and spoons, hoping to obtain absolution for themselves and their friends. Wiclif was not a silent spectator of such a violation of the religion of peace: he severely censured the rival parties, and in one of his tracts pointedly inquired, "Why wole not the proud priest of Rome grant full pardon to all men, for to live in peace, and charity and patience, as

he doth to all men to fight and slee Christen men?" The exasperated pontiff cited Wiclif to appear before him; but his feeble state of health was offered as an apology, for not undertaking so long and perilous a journey. He had already had one attack of palsy, and his debilitated frame sunk under a second attack of the same disease, two years afterwards. His last seizure was during the time of divine service, in the church of Lutterworth; which, on the third day terminated the valuable life of this great and intrepid reformer, December 30th. 1384. His body was buried in the chancel of his church, and there lay till 1428, when his bones were disinterred and burnt, and his ashes thrown into the *Swift*, a neighbouring stream, at the command of Pope Martin V. by Richard Flemyng, bishop of Lincoln, according to a decree of the infamous council of Constance, passed in 1415.

The most elaborate *Life of Wiclif* is that by the Rev. John Lewis; but the most correct list of his *Works*, and one of the best written lives, will be found prefixed by the Rev. H. H. Baber to his excellent edition of Wiclif's New Testament.

The opposition which was raised against Wiclif's translation, proceeded so far, that in 1390, (13. Ric. II.*) a bill was brought into the house of lords, for the suppression of it. On this occasion, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and uncle to the king, defended a vernacular translation, saying, "We will not be the dregs of all men; seeing other nations have the law of God, which is the law of our faith, written in their own language." Declaring, at the same time, in the most solemn manner, "That he would maintain our having this law in our own

* A *Latin* PSALTER, ornamented with the most beautiful miniatures, and richly illuminated, for the use of this monarch when a youth, is preserved in the Cottonian Library. It has a calendar, and various tables, beside hymns, and the Athanasian creed. The king is represented, in different places, on his knees, before the Virgin Mary, who has the infant Jesus in her arms. *Le Long*, IV. p. 245.

tongue against those, whoever they should be, who first brought in the bill." The duke was seconded by others, who said, that "if the Gospel, by its being translated into *English*, was the occasion of men's running into error, they might know, that there were more heretics to be found among the *Latins*, than among the people of any other language. For that the *decretals* reckoned no fewer than sixty-six *Latin* heretics, and so the Gospel must not be read in *Latin*, which yet the opposers of the *English* translation allowed." The consequence of this firmness in Wiclif's patron and friends, was, that the bill was thrown out.[74]

It was probably this event which encouraged some of Dr. Wiclif's followers to review his translation, or rather, to make another, not so strict and verbal, but more according to the sense. The MS. copies of this translation are more rare than the others, but are to be met with in the Bodleian and other public libraries. One of these is said to have belonged to Bishop *Bonner*, of persecuting memory; who in his book *Of the Seven Sacraments*, (A. D. 1555) observes, that he had "a Bible in *Englyshe* translated out of *Latyne* in tyme of heresye, almost eight-score yeare before that tyme," (i. e. about 1395) "fayre and truly written in parchement."[75]

From a MS. copy of this translation, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, being inscribed with the name *J. Pervey*, it has been concluded that JOHN PURVEY, or PURNEY, was the author of it. Knyghton *(De Event. Angliæ)* says, "He was a chaplain or curate, having no benefice of his own;—of a grave aspect and behaviour, affecting an appearance of sanctity beyond the rest of his fellows. In his clothes and dress he went as an ordinary man; and little regarding his own ease, was unwearied in studying, by travelling up and down,

(74) Lewis's Hist. of English Translations, p. 28.
(75) Ibid. p. 25.

to persuade the people, and to bring them over to his sect. Being an invincible disciple of his master *John Wiclif*, he conformed himself to his opinions, and fearlessly confirmed them in every respect like an able executor. For having boarded with his master when he was alive, and thus having drank more plentifully of his instructions, he had more abundantly imbibed them, and always, even to his dying day, as an inseparable companion followed him and his opinions and doctrines, being unwearied in his labours and endeavours to propagate them." After Dr. Wiclif's death he used to preach at *Bristol*, till he was apprehended and imprisoned by *Thomas Arundel*, archbishop of Canterbury, in Saltwood castle, in Kent, a seat belonging to the archbishop. Here he was dreadfully tortured, and at last consented to recant, which he did at Paul's Cross, A. D. 1396. He was afterwards promoted by the archbishop to a benefice, as is said, about a mile from the castle, which seems to intimate as if it were St. Mary's, *Hythe*, or perhaps the rectory of *Ostinhanger*. But wherever the place was, he did not long continue in it, but quitted his benefice, and embraced his former opinions. After Arundel's death, he was again imprisoned by Archbishop Chichley, A. D. 1521; after which it is uncertain what became of him; though it is not improbable that he died in prison. Thomas of Walden, a zealous writer against the *Lollards*, or followers of Wiclif, gives him this character, that "he was the library of the Lollards, and Wiclif's glosser; an eloquent divine, and famous for his skill in the law," or a notable canonist.[76]

But whoever was the author of the translation in question, it was most probably made by the same person who wrote the ELUCIDARIUM BIBLIORUM, or *Prologue to the translation of the Bible;* a work frequently, but erroneously,

(76) Fox's Actes and Monumentes, I. p. 649. fol. 1570.
Lewis's Life of Wicliffe, pp. 218—221.
Lewis's Hist. of English Translations, pp. 34, 35.

attributed to Wiclif himself. The design of the *Prologue*, which is in English, is to give a summary of the books of the Bible, with certain declarations of their use and authority. It was printed by John Gowghe in 1536, in 12mo. under the title of *The Dore of Holy Scripture.* Another edition, in 12mo. was published in 1550, by Robert Crowley. The title of it was, *The pathway to perfect knowledge, the true copye of a prologue, wrytten about two hundred yeares paste by John Wyckluffe (as maye justly be gathered bi that, that John Bale hath wrytten of him in his Boke entitled, the summarie of famouse writers of the Ile of Great Britaine) the original whereof is found written in an olde Englishe Bible betwixt the Olde Testament and the Newe. Which Bible remaineth now in the Kyng hys Maiesties chamber.* In this *Prologue*, which Lewis, *(Hist. of English Translations,)* and Baber, *(Life of Dr. Wiclif,)* have incontrovertibly proved to have been written after the reformer's death, the author gives the following account of his own translation of the Bible into English: "He, with several others who assisted him, got together," he says, "all the old *Latyn* Bibles they could procure: these they diligently collated, and corrected what errors had crept into them, in order to make one *Latin* Bible some deal true; since many Bibles in Latin were very false, especially those that were new. Then they collected the doctors and common glosses, especially *Lyra*, with which they studied the text anew, in order to make themselves masters of the sense and meaning of it. Next they consulted the old grammarians and ancient divines as to the hard words and sentences, how they might be best understood and translated; which having done, they set about the translation, which they resolved should not be a verbal one, but as clearly as they could to express the sense and meaning of the text; for," says he, "it is to know that the best translating out of *Latin* into *English*, is to translate after the sentence, and

not only after the words. So that the sentence be as open (either opener) in English as in Latin, and go not far from the letter." He adds, that "where the *Hebrew*, by witness of *Jerom*, of *Lyra*, and of other expositors, discordeth from our Latin Bibles, he had set in the margin, in manner of a gloss, what the *Hebrew* hath, and how it is understood in some other place. And that he did this most in the *Psalter*, that of all of our books discorded most from the *Hebrew*. In translating equivocal words," he remarks, "there might be some danger, since, if they were not translated according to the sense and meaning of the author, it was an error. Lastly," he tells us, that, "to make this translation as compleat and perfect as he could, he resolved to have many good fellows, and *kunnyng*, to correct it."[77] A MS. copy of this work is in the British Museum, *Harl. MS.* 1666. It is imperfect at the end.

The uncertainty and obscurity in which the author of the translation before us is involved, is not peculiar to himself; in numerous other instances it will appear that translators of different versions of the Sacred Writings are unknown. This has probably arisen from different causes; sometimes from that humble and self-diffident disposition, which has led the pious mind to retire from public view, and to aim only at the approbation of him who "searches the heart;" and sometimes from a fear of persecution and suffering. For, although many in our day will be disposed to regard the man who first produced a translation of the Scriptures into the language of his country, as her greatest benefactor, and entitled to eminent rank in the annals of her moral improvement, it must be acknowledged, that these have not been the views of past ages; nor has history, in general, been constructed or written under the influence of such impres-

(77) Lewis's Hist. of English Translations, p. 37.
Lewis's Life of Wicliffe, p. 70.

sions. Unfortunately, these co-operating causes prevent the possibility of an authentic biographical work being written, which should embrace the lives of all original translators of the Sacred Volume; all that can be done, is to collect, from various quarters, such intimations as remain, respecting these valuable men, and their important labours.

"The lives of such persons, it may be said, could not have furnished many remarkable incidents; but we cannot tell: for although they did not all meet with similar treatment, to some of them, at least, the following lines are but too appropriate:

> ——'They lived unknown,
> Till persecution dragg'd them into fame,
> And chas'd them up to heaven. Their ashes flew
> ——No marble tells us whither. With their names
> No bard embalms and sanctifies his song;
> And history, so warm on meaner themes,
> Is cold on this." [78]

(78) See Anderson's Memorial on behalf of the Native Irish, pp. 12, 13.

CHAPTER XIII.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Lollards. Bishop Arundel's Canon against Translations. Value of Books. Episcopus Puerorum. Learned Englishmen. Libraries. Henry VI. John Huss. Jerom of Prague. Hussites. Invention of Printing.

WICLIF'S followers were called LOLLARDS, from a German term, signifying *to sing hymns to God;* and increased so rapidly, that a contemporary writer affirms, "A man could not meet two people on the road, but one of them was a disciple of WICLIF."[1]

The vehemence with which they declaimed against the vices of the clergy, and the constant appeals which they made to the Holy Scriptures, in defence of their opinions, drew down upon them the anathemas of their mitred adversaries, and occasioned the most severe laws to be enacted against those who should embrace their sentiments, or dare to read the WORD OF GOD without ecclesiastical permission. In 1396, THOMAS ARUNDEL, archbishop of York, was translated to the see of Canterbury, and soon discovered by his conduct, that he designed to employ against the *Lollards,* all the additional power he had acquired by his promotion to the primacy. No sooner had Henry IV. gained possession of the throne of England, than Arundel, who had supported him in his pretensions to the crown, applied, with his clergy, to the parliament that met at Westminster, to obtain the sanction of the legislature to his cruel and iniquitous measures. In this he was unfortunately successful, and a severe law was passed against the dangerous innovations,

(1) Knyghton.—See Lewis's Life of Wicliffe, ch. x. p. 175.

as they were called, of the Lollards. By this law, made A. D. 1400, the bishops were authorized to imprison all persons suspected of heresy, and to try them in the spiritual court; and, if they proved either obstinate or relapsed heretics, the spiritual judge was to call the sheriff of the county, or the chief magistrate of the town, to be present when the sentence of condemnation was pronounced, and immediately to deliver the condemned person to the secular magistrate, who was to cause him *to be burnt to death*, on some elevated place, in the sight of all the people. The first person who suffered under the writ *De hæretico comburendo*, was Sir William Sawtre, rector of St. Oswyth, London. One of the charges brought against him was, "That he had said he would not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ that suffered upon the cross." Another of the charges was, "That he had declared, that a priest was more bound to preach the WORD OF GOD, than to recite particular services, at certain canonical hours." For such, alas! was the genius of the reigning superstition, that to worship the *cross*, and attend to customary formalities, was regarded as of more importance than to worship the Saviour, or to preach his gospel![2]

In 1408, the archbishop held a convocation of the whole of the clergy of his province, at Oxford, the object of which was to frame certain constitutions against the *Lollards*. By the 5th constitution published in this convocation, it was ordained that "No book or treatise composed by *John Wiclif*, or by any other in his time, or since, or hereafter to be composed, be henceforth read in the schools, halls, inns, or other places whatsoever, within the province aforesaid; and that none be taught according to such [book,] unless it have been first examined, and upon examination *unanimously approved* by the uni-

(2) Fox's Actes and Monumentes, I. p. 615.
Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, X. B. v. ch. ii. p. 2.

versity of Oxford, or Cambridge, or at least by twelve men chosen by the said universities, or by one of them, under the discretion of us, or our successors; and then afterwards, [the book be approved] expressly by us, or our successors, and delivered in the name, and by the authority, of the universities, to be copied and sold to such as desire it, (after it has been faithfully collated,) at a just price, the original thenceforth remaining in some chest* of the university for ever. And if any one shall read any book, or treatise of this sort in the schools, or elsewhere, contrary to the form above written; or shall teach according to it, let him be punished according as the quality of the fact shall require, as a sower of schism, and a fautor of heresy."

Another *Constitution* of the convocation was formed expressly *against the translation of the Scriptures into English,* "VII. It is a dangerous thing,† as the blessed Jerom testifieth, to translate the text of the Holy Scriptures out of one language into another, because it is not always easy to retain the sense of the original in a translation, as the same blessed Jerom confesseth, that although inspired,‡ he frequently erred: We therefore enact and ordain, that no one hereafter do by his own authority translate any text of Holy Scripture into *English,* or any other tongue by way of *book, libel,* or *treatise;* and that no one read any such book, libel, or treatise, now

* The books in the public libraries were, at that period, all kept in chests.

† Jerom's words, to which the constitution refers, are to be found in his Letter to Pope Damasus, who had desired him to determine which of the various readings, in the *Latin* copies, agreed most correctly with the *Greek* text; and to which he replies, that it was very hazardous to decide: "For who is there," says he, "whether he be learned or unlearned, when he takes the Bible into his hands, and sees, that what he reads differs from what he has been used to, who will not immediately clamour against me, as a falsifier and sacrilegious person, for daring to add, alter, or correct, any thing in books so ancient." See Lewis's *History of English Translations,* p. 44.

‡ Jerom never pretended to inspiration.

lately set forth in the time of John Wiclif, or since, or hereafter to be composed, in public, or in private, in whole, or in part, under pain of the greater excommunication, until the said translation be approved by the diocesan of the place, or, if occasion require, by a provincial council. Let him that acteth contrary be punished as a fautor of error and heresy."[3]

In the 2nd year of the reign of Henry V. A. D. 1415, a law was passed, by which, in addition to the former laws against heresy, all *Lollards*, or those who possessed or read any of Wiclif's books, or entertained his opinions, were declared to be guilty of treason, and their goods ordered to be confiscated.[4] This law was considered as particularly directed against those who read the NEW TESTAMENT IN ENGLISH of *Wiclif's translation*. Our old writers thus express themselves respecting it: "In the said parliament" (held at Leicester) "the kinge made this most blasphemous and cruell acte, to be a law for euer, That whosoeuer they were that should rede the Scriptures in the mother tong, (which was then called WICLEU's lerning,) they should forfet land, catel, body, lif, and godes, from theyr heyres for euer, and so be condempned for heretykes to God, ennemies to the crowne, and most errant traytors to the lande. Besides this, it was inacted, that neuer a sanctuary, nor priuiliged grounde within the realme shulde holde them, though they were still permitted to theues and murtherers. And if in case they wold not gyue ouer, or were after their pardon relapsed, they shulde suffer death in two manner of kindes; that is, they shulde first be hanged for treason against the kinge, and then be burned for heresy against God, and yet neither of both committed."[5]

---

(3) Labbei S. S. Concilia, XI. pt. ii. p. 2095. Paris, 1671, fol.
(4) Fox's Actes and Monumentes, I. p. 678.
(5) Complete Collection of State Trials, I. p. 49. Lond. 1730, 2nd edition, fol.

But violent as were the measures pursued against those who read the Scriptures in *English*, there were some found, who at every hazard sought wisdom from the book of God. These, to promote the more general circulation of the Scriptures, caused select portions of *Wiclif's Translation* to be written in small volumes, that the poor might purchase them, printing being unknown, and writing tedious and expensive. Lewis, the author of *The History of the English Translations of the Bible*, possessed one of these copies in 24mo. which contained *St. John's Gospel, the Epistles of St. James, St. Peter, St. John, St. Jude*, and *the Apocalypse*.[6] The bishop's registers often mention these little books, or *libels*, as they were called, and notice them as being prohibited. Persons who were detected reading them, or even having them in possession, were prosecuted, and sometimes were burnt with them hanging about their necks. In 1429, Nicholas Belward, of South Elmham in Suffolk, was accused of having in his possession a *New Testament*, which he had bought in London, for *four marks* and *forty pence*, £2. 16s. 8d. a sum equivalent to more than £40. at present; an astonishing price to have been paid by a *labouring man*, for such Belward appears to have been: William Wright deposing that he "had wrought with him continually by the space of one year; and studied diligently upon the said New Testament." In the same year an accusation was brought also against Margery Backster, in which it was deposed, that she had desired Joan, the wife of one Cliffland, and her maid, to "come *secretly in the night* to her chamber, and there she should hear her husband read the *Law of Christ* to them; which Law was written in a book that her husband was wont *to read to her by night*; and that her husband was well learned in the Christian verity." Many other depositions, of a similar nature, were made by the enemies of the Lollards, in consequence

(6) Lewis, p. 39.

of which, the followers of Wiclif were subjected to various penances and imprisonments. Against Richard Fletcher of Beccles, it was alledged, "He is a most perfect doctor in that sect, and can very well and perfectly expound the Holy Scriptures, and hath a book of the *New Law* in *English*." Against *Sir Hugh Pye*, priest, it was deposed, that he had "bequeathed to Alice, servant to William White, a *New Testament*, which they then called the book of the *New Law*, and was in custody of Oswald Godfrey of Colchester." Even the ability to *read* was enumerated amongst the crimes of this sect, by their violent persecutors, for it is remarked in the depositions, that "William Bate, tailor, of Sything, and his wife, and his son, which can *read English* very well, is of the same sect;" that "the daughter of Thomas Moone is partly of the same sect, and can *read English*;" and that "John Pert, late servant of Thomas Moone, is of the same sect, and can *read* well, and did read in the presence of William White."[7]

The disciples of Wiclif, however, were not satisfied with knowing the truth, and themselves only reading the Scriptures; they were animated by more generous principles, and laudably anxious to place the Bible in the hands of others, as a powerful means of enlightening the mind, and influencing the heart. In the prosecution of this pious design, these early reformers were materially assisted by the zealous co-operation of Sir JOHN OLDCASTLE, Lord Cobham, who expended considerable sums in collecting, transcribing, and dispersing the works of Wiclif; and in maintaining a number of itinerant preachers, who were employed in spreading the doctrines of our English reformer in different parts of the country, particularly in the dioceses of Canterbury, London, Rochester, and Hereford. Bale says, that he caused all the works of Wiclif to be copied by desire of John Huss, and to be

(7) Fox's Actes and Monumentes, I. pp. 786—788.

sent into France, Spain, Bohemia, and other foreign countries. The support afforded the Lollards by this nobleman, and his zeal in the diffusion of evangelical truth, rendered him the object of the most cruel persecution. He was accused of heresy, condemned and imprisoned in the tower of London, from whence he found means to escape, but being retaken, in 1417, by Lord Powis, was suspended alive in chains, upon a gallows, and burnt to death.[8]

The *excessive dearness of books*, prior to the invention of printing, is a sufficient proof that the Lollards must have been countenanced and assisted by persons of wealth and influence, in spreading extensively the works of Wiclif, especially his *Translation of the New Testament.* Several instances of the exorbitant prices of books, about this period, have been already adduced; the following will render the evidence still more decisive. In 1424, two ANTIPHONARS, books containing all the invitatories, responsories, verses, collects, and whatever was said or sung in the choir, except the lessons, cost the little monkery of *Crabhouse*, in Norfolk, TWENTY-SIX MARKS; and the common price for a MASS-BOOK was FIVE MARKS, equal to the yearly revenue of a vicar, or curate, which, about this period, was fixed at FIVE MARKS, (£3. 6. 8.) or Two MARKS, and his board.[9] At an early period of this century, Pierre Plaoul, bishop of Senlis, bequeathed a large quarto BIBLE, fairly written on vellum, to the house of the Sorbonne, at Paris; on the last leaf of which there was a Latin note, to the following effect: "This book, the value of which is fifteen pounds of Paris, belongs to the poor masters of Sorbonne, bequeathed to them by the reverend father in Christ, Pierre Plaoul, formerly bishop of Senlis, and an eminent professor of Holy Scripture, of the society of the aforesaid house;

(8) Fox's Actes and Monumentes, I. p. 664, &c.
British Biography, I. p. 138. Lond. 1773, 8vo.
(9) Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws, &c. II, A.D. 1222, 1305. 1362.

who died, April 11th, 1415, and was buried in the church of St. Marcellus, near to the famous and memorable master Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris. May his soul rest in peace!" "A similar *printed* Bible," says Chevillier, "would not have cost six francs." In 1491, BERNARD'S HOMILIES ON THE CANTICLES were pawned for TWENTY SHILLINGS; and a few years earlier, A. D. 1471, when Lewis XI. of France borrowed the works of the Arabian physician Rhasis, from the faculty of medicine at Paris, he not only deposited, by way of pledge, a quantity of valuable plate, but was obliged to procure a nobleman to join with him as surety in a deed, by which he bound himself to return it, under a considerable forfeiture.[10] Henry V. of England possessed so scanty a library, that he borrowed several books, which were claimed by their owners, after his death. The Countess of Westmoreland presented a petition to the privy council, A. D. 1424, praying that an order might be given under the privy seal, for the restoration of a book, borrowed of her, by the late king, containing the *Chronicles of Jerusalem*, and the *Expedition of Godfrey of Boulogne*; which was granted with great formality. Another petition was presented by the prior of Christ-Church, Canterbury, stating, that the late king had borrowed from the priory, the *works of St. Gregory*, which by his testament he had directed to be restored, but which had been withheld by the prior of Shine. After serious deliberation, the council issued an order to the prior of Shine, either to deliver up the book, or to appear before the council, and assign the reasons of his refusal.[11] Nor will it perhaps be deemed impertinent to add, that literature in general, and Sacred Literature in particular, was still farther discouraged, by the almost universal preference of

(10) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, I. Diss. 2.
Chevillier, De l' Origine de l' Imprimerie de Paris, pt. iv. ch. v. p. 371. Paris, 1694, 4to.

(11) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, X. B. v. ch. iv. pp. 115, 116.

entertainment to instruction. The minstrels were more amply remunerated than the clergy; and the feast of the *Episcopus Puerorum*, or Boy-bishop, more numerously attended than the most solemn festivals of the church. During many of the years of the reign of Henry VI. particularly in the year 1430, at the annual feast of the holy cross, at Abingdon, a town in Berkshire, twelve priests each receeived four-pence for singing a dirge; and the same number of minstrels were each rewarded with two shillings and four-pence, beside diet and provender for their horses. In the same year, the prior *de Maxtock* gave six-pence for a sermon, to an itinerant doctor in theology, of one of the Mendicant orders, who went about preaching to the religious houses. In a very mutilated fragment of a *Computus*, or annual accompt roll of St. Swithen's cathedral priory, at Winchester, under the year 1441, a disbursement is made to the singing-boys of the monastery, who, together with the choristers of St. Elizabeth's collegiate chapel, near that city, were dressed up like girls, and exhibited their sports before the abbess and nuns of St. Mary's abbey, at Winchester, in the public refectory of that convent, on Innocents' day. Another fragment, of an accompt of the cellarer of Hyde abbey, at Winchester, has the following entry, under the year 1490: "In larvis et aliis indumentis puerorum visentium dominum apud Wulsey, et constabularium castri Winton, in apparatu suo, nec non subinstrantium omnia monasteria civitatis Winton, in ffesto Nicholai." That is, "In furnishing masks and dresses for the boys of the convent, when they visited the bishop at Wulvesey Palace, the constable of Winchester castle, and all the monasteries of the city of Winchester, on the festival of St. Nicholas."[12] In many churches it was a common practice to elect a boy on St. Nicholas's or Innocents' day, to assume the garb, and perform the functions of the bishop,

(12) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, II. pp. 105, 106; III. p. 324.

who was therefore denominated *episcopus puerorum*, or boy-bishop, and sometimes the *chorister-bishop*. This was particularly the case in England, in the church of *Sarum*. The learned John Gregory, of Oxford, wrote a tract, published after his decease, expressly on this custom of the church of Sarum, the title of which is, "Episcopus Puerorum in die Innocentium: or a discovery of an ancient custom in the church of Sarum, making an anniversary bishop among the choristers." In this work, it is said, "The *Episcopus Choristorum* was a chorister-bishop, chosen by his fellow-children, upon St. Nicholas's day. Upon this day rather than any other, because it is singularly noted of this bishop, (as Paul said of his Timothy,) *that he had known the Scriptures of a child*, and led a life *sanctissime ab ipsis incunabilis inchoatam*. The reason is yet more properly and expressly set down in the English Festival:"

"It is sayed that his fader hyght *Epiphanius*, and his moder *Joanna*, *&c.* And whan he was born, *&c.* they made him christen, and caled him *Nycolas*, that is a mannes name, but he kepeth the name of a child, for he chose to kepe vertues, meknes, and simplenes, and without malice: also we rede while he lay in his cradel, he fasted Wednesday and Friday: these dayes he would souke but ones of the day, and therwyth held him plesed: thus he lyued all his lyf in vertues with his childes name. And therefore, children don him worship before all other saints." *Lib. Festivalis* in die S. *Nicolas*. fol. 55.

"From this day till *Innocents' Day*, at night, (it lasted longer at first,) the *Episcopus Puerorum* was to bear the name, and hold up the state of a *bishop*, answerably habited with a *crosier*, or pastoral staff in his hand, and a *mitre* upon his head: and such an one too some had as was *multis episcoporum mitris sumptuosior*, (saith one,) very much richer than those of bishops indeed."

"The rest of his fellows from the same time being were

to take upon them the style and counterfeit of prebends, yielding to their bishop, (or else as if it were,) no less than canonical obedience."

"And look what service the very bishop himself, with his dean and prebends, (had they been to officiate,) was to have performed, the mass excepted, the very same was done by the chorister-bishop and his canons, upon the *eve*, and the *holy-day*."

"In case the chorister-bishop died within the month, his exequies were solemnized with an answerable glorious pomp and sadness. He was buried, (as all other bishops,) in all his ornaments. In the cathedral of *Sarum*, there lieth a monument, in stone, of a little boy habited all in episcopal robes, a mitre upon his head, a crosier in his hand, and the rest accordingly."

Our author adds, that all the ceremonies were performed "with that solemnity of celebration, and appetite of seeing, that the statute of *Sarum* was forced to provide. *Sub pœna majoris excommunicationis, nè quis pueros illos in præfata processione, vel aliàs in suo ministerio, premat aut impediat quoquo modo, quo minùs pacificè valeant facere et exequi quod illis imminet faciendum, &c.* That no person whatsoever, under pain of *Anathema*, should interrupt, or press upon these children, at the procession, or in any other part of their *service*, in any ways, but to suffer them quietly to perform and execute what it concerned them to do."[13]

As to the divine service being performed on these festivals by children, not only was it celebrated by *boys*, but also by *girls*; for there is an injunction given to the Benedictine nunnery of Godstowe, in Oxfordshire, by Archbishop Peckham, in the year 1278, that on Innocents' day, the public prayers should not any more be said in the church of that monastery, *per parvulas*, that is, by *little girls*. And so far back may a similar custom be

(13) Gregory's Works, *Posthumâ*, pp. 95. 113—117. Lond. 1671, 4to.

traced, that at the Constantinopolitan synod, held in the year 867, at which 373 bishops were present, it was found to be a solemn custom in the courts of princes, on certain stated days, to dress some *laymen* in the episcopal apparel, who should exactly personate a bishop, both in his tonsure and ornaments; and also to create a burlesque patriarch, who might make sport for the company. This scandal to religion was anathematized by the good bishops, but without complete success, the temporary check serving only to alter its direction, and increase its energy.[14] In 1274, the council of Saltzburg forbade any one to assume the office of *boy-bishop*, who was more than sixteen years of age, great enormities having sometimes been committed in the churches, by those who had engaged in those Ludi, or plays.[15] And the council of Basil, in 1435, condemned them, though they continued to be practised for centuries afterwards.[16]

There flourished, however, at the conclusion of the former, and commencement of this century, several illustrious characters, who, notwithstanding the superstition and bigotry of their church, deserve to be recorded among the promoters of Sacred Literature and knowledge. ADAM ESTON, or EASTON, an Englishman, educated at Oxford, became a Benedictine monk of Norwich, and successively filled the sees of Hereford and London. He was eminently skilled in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and appears to have been the *first* of the moderns who attempted a TRANSLATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, *immediately from the Hebrew*. This work he is said to have completed, except the *Psalms*. Robert Wakefield, (who died in 1538,) says, in the tract which he wrote on *the Purity of the Hebrew Text*, that, for some time, he had

(14) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, III. p. 324.
(15) Du Cange, v. *Episcopus Puerorum*.
(16) Du Tilliot, Memoires pour servir a l' Hist. de la Fete des Foux, pp. 58—73.

the work in his possession, but that at length it was stolen. In the *preface* to his translation, he defends the integrity of the Hebrew original, against Nicholas de Lyra, and others, who supposed it to have been corrupted by the Jews. He was created a cardinal, by Urban VI. but was afterwards thrown into prison, with five other cardinals, by the same pontiff, where he remained for five years; after his release he wrote an account of his imprisonment. He died at Rome, A. D. 1397.[17]

JOHN of WHETHAMSTEDE, abbot of St. Albans, in the reign of Henry VI. was an eminently studious and learned writer. A MS. life of him in the Cottonian Library, enumerates more than *fourscore* separate treatises, given to the abbey, many of which were written by himself. He expended large sums in beautifying and enriching his monastery; among other things, he adorned the roof and walls of the Virgin Mary's chapel with pictures, at an expense of forty pounds; and gave an organ to the choir of the church. He built a library at Oxford, and enriched it with books. To familiarize the history of his patron saint, to the monks of his convent, he employed Lydgate, then a monk of Bury, in Suffolk, to translate the Latin legend of his life, into English rhymes. For the translation, the writing, and the illuminations, he paid *one hundred shillings;* and expended on the binding, and other exterior ornaments of the MS. upwards of *three pounds.* It was placed before the altar of the saint, in the abbey church, Whethamstede having adorned the altar with much magnificence. During his abbacy, a grand transcript of the POSTILLA of *Nicholas de Lyra,* on the BIBLE, was begun at his command, with the most splendid ornaments and hand-writing. The monk who records this important anecdote, lived soon after him, and speaks of this great undertaking, then unfinished, as if it were some

(17) Bibliotheca Sacra, edit Masch, pt. ii. vol. III. cap. iii, sec. i. p. 432. Hody, De Bibl. Text. lib. iii. pt. ii. p. 440.

magnificent public edifice. "God grant," says he, "that this work in our days may receive a happy consummation!" Some of Whethamstede's tracts, MS. copies of which often occur in our libraries, are dedicated to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, who was fond of visiting the abbey, and employed our abbot to collect valuable books for him. A fine copy of his *Granarium*, an immense work, was presented by the duke, to the library then lately erected by himself, at Oxford. A beautiful MS. folio, of Valerius Maximus, enriched with the most elegant decorations, with a curious table, or index, made by Whethamstede, is still preserved in the Bodleian Library. He was the author of a *Chronicle*, embracing a period of twenty years, from 1441, to 1461, inclusive. It contains many original papers, and gives a very full account of some events, particularly respecting his own abbey. He was ordained a priest A. D. 1382, and died 1464, being above a hundred years of age, eighty-two of which he had been in priest's orders.[18]

JOHN CAPGRAVE, another learned Englishman, was born in the county of Kent. He entered into the monastery of Augustin monks, at Canterbury, and after he had taken his Doctor's degree, at Oxford, became Provincial of his order. He was the confesssor, and intimate friend of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. In the library of Oriel College, at Oxford, there is a MS. COMMENTARY ON GENESIS, written by Capgrave, who was reputed eminent as a theologian. It is the author's autograph, and is dedicated to the duke. In the superb initial letter of the dedicatory epistle, is a curious illumination of the author, humbly presenting his book to his patron, who is seated, and covered with a sort of hat. At the end is this entry, in the hand-writing of the duke himself: "*Ce livre est a moy Humphrey duc de Gloucestre du don de frere Jehan Capgrave, quy le me fit presenter a mon manoyr de Pen-*

(18) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, II. pp. 45—47. 53.
Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, X. B. v. p. 132.

sherst le - - - - jour de - - - - l'an MCCCXXXVIII." [probably MCCCCXXXVIII.] i. e. "This book belongs to me, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the gift of brother John Capgrave, who presented it to me at my manor of Penshurst, the - - - day of - - - in the year 1438." Beside this *Commentary on* GENESIS, and others on EXODUS and KINGS, presented also by the duke to the Library at Oxford, he was the author of COMMENTARIES on almost all the books of the OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT; as well as of a *Catalogue, or Legend of the English Saints*, printed at London, by Caxton, 1516. fol.; a *Biography of illustrious men, who flourished under the Henries of England;* and many other works, chiefly historical. He was decided in his attachment to the church of Rome, but opposed and thundered against the depraved practices of the ecclesiastics of his day. He died at Lynn, in Norfolk, August 12th, A. D. 1464; or, according to Pitts, A. D. 1484.[19]

But the most munificent patron of general literature, was the *good* HUMPHREY, duke of Gloucester. To him the *Bodleian Library*, as it has been since called, was indebted for an extensive and princely donation of books, containing 600 volumes. These books are called *Novi Tractatus*, or New Treatises, in the university Register. They were the most splendid and costly copies that could be procured, finely written on vellum, and elegantly embellished with miniatures and illuminations; 120 of which were valued at more than £1000. The magnificent copy of Valerius Maximus, the Index of which was made by Whethamstede, was one of them. As he patronized, in a particular manner, the abbey of St. Albans, many of the abbots paid their court to him, by sending him presents of books, beautifully executed, and adorned with the most exquisite paintings, which seem to have

(19) Cavei Hist. Litt. sæc. xv. Append. p. 132.
Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, II. p. 46.

constituted a part of his gift to the library at Oxford.[20] Humphrey was brother to Henry V. and the duke of Bedford; and uncle to Henry VI. during whose minority he occasionally administered the affairs of the kingdom, as regent.

The *Library of Baliol College, Oxford*, was also founded in the early part of the fifteenth century. It was originally built in two parts, the lower, or west part in 1427, by Dr. Thomas Chace; and the upper, or east part about the year 1477, by Mr. Robert Abdy; both some time masters. William Lambert, who was master in 1406, and Robert Thwaites, who attained the same honour in 1451, gave many valuable MSS.; and William Wilton, a fellow, and afterwards chancellor of the university, was also a contributor of books, in 1492. Grey, bishop of Ely, in 1454, proved a most noble benefactor, not only in money for the building, but in adding to the collection about 200 MSS. many of them richly illuminated, which he had purchased in England and Italy. In the latter country he employed transcribers and illuminators, as appears by some of his MSS. still in this library. The illuminations were chiefly executed by Antonius Marius, an "exquisite painter," of Florence, during the bishop's residence in that city. On most, if not all of the MSS. the donors' arms were fastened, painted on vellum, and *covered with pieces of thin horn*, to prevent their being torn off, or defaced. "But, with great resentment let it be spoken," says A. Wood, "divers of them which smelled of superstition, or that treated of school divinity, or of geometry, or astronomy, were taken away in that ignorant time of Edward VI. wherein people, under pretence of reformation, pilfered, and made havoc of those things which posterity hath since much desired to see."[21]

(20) Warton, *ubi sup.*

(21) Chalmer's Hist. of the Colleges, &c. attached to the University of Oxford, I. p. 55. Oxford, 1810, 8vo.
Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford, ed. Gutch. p. 89, 4to.

The countenance which the study of the Sacred Scriptures derived also from the devotional habits of two royal personages, ought not to be forgotten. These were ANN OF BOHEMIA, and HENRY VI. The former of these illustrious characters was the beloved queen of Richard II. daughter of the Emperor Charles IV. and sister to Winceslaus, king of Bohemia, and emperor of Germany. She was married to King Richard A. D. 1382. Wiclif, in his book *Of the threefold bond of love*, thus speaks of her: "It is possible that the noble queen of England, the sister of Cæsar, may have the Gospel written in *three* languages, *Bohemian*, *German*, and *Latin*, and to hereticate her on this account, would be Luciferian folly." Archbishop Arundel, in his sermon preached at her funeral in 1394, highly commends her, that "although she was a stranger, yet she constantly studied the *Four Gospels* in *English*, and explained by the expositions of the doctors; and that in the study of these, and reading godly books, she was more diligent than even the prelates themselves, though their office and business required it."[22]

Of the attachment of King HENRY VI. to the Holy Scriptures, and his regular habits of piety, the following account has been left by John Blackman, a Carthusian monk, and an intimate friend of the monarch himself:

"He was incessantly occupied either in prayers, or in reading the Holy Scriptures, or chronicles, from which he derived many passages for his own spiritual consolation, as well as that of others. He was also accustomed to send to certain clergymen, hortatory epistles, full of heavenly mysteries and salutary admonitions, to the astonishment of many. On ordinary days he spent his time not less diligently, in treating of the affairs of his kingdom with his council, according to the exigency of the case; or else in reading writings or chronicles. Hence Richard Tunstall,

(22) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. p. 161.
Lewis's Life of Wicliffe, pp. 197, 198.

formerly his faithful chamberlain, has given testimony concerning him, both verbally and in his writings, saying, 'his delight was in the Law of the Lord both day and night.' In confirmation of the same thing, the king himself heavily complained to me in his palace at Eltham, when I was with him there alone, engaged with him in his holy books, and listening to his salutary admonitions, and the breathings of his profound devotion, for being interrupted by a knocking at the royal gate, by a certain powerful duke of the realm; the king said, 'They so disturb me, that I can scarcely snatch time to refresh myself either by day or night, with the reading of any sacred doctrines, without being interrupted by some noise or other.' Something of a similar kind once happened also in my presence at Windsor."[23] Yet such was the inconsistency of this monarch, that whilst he himself read the Scriptures constantly, and regarded them as an inestimable source of instruction and consolation, his subjects were persecuted, imprisoned, and burned alive, for reading, or hearing, or pursuing the dictates of those very Scriptures!

The opinions of Wiclif, which had continued to spread in England, were now extended to the continent, and found in BOHEMIA, in particular, many who advocated the doctrines of the reformer, and zealously endeavoured to give them publicity and establishment. The attendants of Ann of Bohemia, queen of Richard II. on their return to their own country, had carried with them some of Wiclif's writings, and communicated the knowledge of his sentiments to the circle of their acquaintance;[24] but the principal agent in introducing Wiclif's works was a young Bohemian nobleman, named Faulfisch. This gentleman had been a student at Oxford, where he had embraced the views of the English reformer, and had brought to Bohemia several of his works, among which

(23) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. p. 171.
(24) Fox's Actes and Monumentes, I. p. 701.

were his books *De Realibus Universalibus; De diversis quæstionibus contra Clerum; Dialogus; Trialogus; Super Evangelia sermones per circulum anni*, &c.[25] These were read with avidity by the celebrated JOHN HUSS, a native of Bohemia, who, by his genius and industry, had risen from obscurity to the honourable office of rector of the university of Prague, which was then in a flourishing condition, and crowded with students from various parts of Germany. He had also been nominated, A. D. 1400, one of the two preachers of BETHLEHEM, a great church dedicated to Matthias and Matthæus, which had been erected and endowed by an opulent citizen of Prague, for the purpose of having the Word of God taught to the people in the vulgar tongue, both on festivals and ordinary days. HUSS was soon joined by many of the clergy, and several of the nobility; in particular by Jerom of Prague, a man of superior talents and address, who had visited England for the sake of his studies, and brought from thence various writings of Wiclif. The adherents of our reformer, however, met with a violent and bigotted opponent in SUBINCO, surnamed *Lepus*, archbishop of Prague, a prelate of illustrious extraction, but so illiterate, that he only acquired the knowledge of letters after his advancement to the archbishopric. This determined enemy of the Hussites, as they were called, commanded that all the books of Wiclif should be brought to him in order to be publicly burnt. The episcopal mandate was partially obeyed, and more than two hundred volumes finely written, and richly ornamented with costly covers and gold bosses, were committed to the flames.[26] But the rage of Subinco and his party was not to be assuaged by the mere destruction of what were deemed heretical works; the teachers were still more the objects of their

(25) Æneæ Sylvii Historia Bohemica, cap. xxxv. p. 65. Francofurt, 1687, 12mo. Lewis's Life of Wicliffe, ch. ix. p. 143.

(26) Æneæ Sylvii Hist. Bohem. cap. xxxv. pp. 66—69. Riddèri De Eruditione Historia, cap. i. p. 40. Rotterd. 1680.

direst enmity. JOHN HUSS was driven from Prague, and obliged to take refuge in the village from whence he derived his name. In this retreat "he spent his time," says a catholic historian, "in translating certain books of the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT into the vulgar tongue; to which he added commentaries, and gave thereby to women and tradesmen means of disputing with the monks and clergy." The council of Constance being assembled, in 1414, he was cited to appear before it, and contrary to the expectations of his enemies, acted with that noble decision that marked his character, and fearlessly presented himself on the first day of its sitting, under the protection of the *Safe-conduct*, or passport, of the Emperor Sigismund, which required all the subjects of the empire, "to suffer him to pass and repass secure; and, for the honour of his imperial majesty, if need be, to provide him with good passports." But the *Safe-conduct* was perfidiously violated, and Huss was condemned, and burnt at the stake, A. D. 1415. His friend, and fellow-sufferer, JEROM, followed him through the flames the ensuing year. Æneas Sylvius, a cotemporary cardinal, and afterwards pope, under the name of Pius II. says, "They bore their sufferings with constancy, going to the stake as to a feast, and suffering no expression to escape, which could indicate uneasiness of mind. As the fire kindled, they began to sing hymns, which even the flames and crackling of the fire could scarcely interrupt."[27] Thus, by the death of these two upright and excellent men, eternal infamy was attached to a council, which, whilst it professed to be assembled for the reformation of the church, decreed the martyrdom of those who dared to oppugn its superstitions and errors, violated the most solemn engagements, supported the Teutonic knights in their enormities, refused to punish the advocates of regi-

(27) Æneæ Sylvii Hist. Bohem. cap. xxxvi. p. 73.
Earbery's Pretended Reformers, p. 49.

cide, and amused itself with the buffooneries of the most ridiculous dramatic entertainments. (See vol. I. p. 420.)[28]

Irritated by the death of their teacher and his friend, the Hussites flew to arms, and under the conduct of the intrepid Zisca, a Bohemian nobleman, commenced a fierce and bloody war, which terminated first in the death of Zisca, and then in the division of the Hussites into *Calixtines* and *Taborites;* the former contending for the use of the cup *(calix)* to the laity, in the eucharist, and the latter, who derived their name from a mountain denominated *Tabor,* to which they had fled, insisting upon a more general reformation, and the establishment of a purer doctrine and discipline. During the thirteen years war, carried on by the Hussites, the most destructive measures were too frequently adopted; and it must ever be lamented, that those who seceded from the Romish church, on account of its unscriptural doctrines and practices, were hurried by their violence to depredations unworthy the character they claimed. On one occasion they destroyed a church and monastery, adjoining the king's palace, the largest and most beautiful in all Bohemia, and the burying places of its sovereigns. The church was magnificent; the altar was decorated with gold and silver, the ecclesiastical robes were interwoven with pearls, and the windows were large and *glazed.* The dormitory of the monastery was capable of containing eight hundred monks; the offices were magnificently constructed; the cloister enclosed an extensive garden, and on its lofty walls the whole of the Old and New Testament was inscribed, in characters rendered sufficiently legible, by increasing in magnitude in proportion to their distance and height.[29]

(28) See Fox's Actes and Monumentes, I. p. 701—756; Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, IV. pp. 209; and Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, I. p. 242.

(29) Æneæ Sylvii Hist. Bohem. cap. xxxvi. pp. 74, 75. Earbery's Pretended Reformers, B. ii. p. 10.

The *Calixtines*, having obtained the use of the eucharistical cup by papal permission, soon began to persecute, in their turn, the *Taborites;* who in many points resembled the Waldenses, and who having laid aside their martial principles, were become more moderate, and more deeply pious. Various sorts of torture were inflicted on them, numbers were barbarously murdered, and many died in prison; the sick were thrown into the open fields, where many perished with cold and hunger; and others were expelled from the cities and villages, with the forfeiture of all their effects. Thus driven from their homes, they were obliged to hide themselves in mountains and woods; and to escape detection by the smoke, to kindle no fires, except in the night, when they met to pray, and read the WORD OF GOD. In 1480, they received a great increase of their numbers, from the accession of Waldensian refugees, who escaped out of Austria, where their bishop, Stephen, had been burnt alive, and where a dreadful persecution had been raised against them. From these Bohemian refugees, the *Moravians,* or *United Brethren,* are descended, deriving the former term from the country they inhabited, and the latter from their brotherly union in the plan of discipline, &c. formed in 1457, by Gregory, the founder of the unity.[30]

Such were the noble struggles for the truth, and for the Holy Scriptures, as the grand rule of faith and practice, made by these ancient worthies: but the papal authorities knew too well, that their deeds could not bear the light, and therefore sought their safety in darkness. A striking instance of this occurred in 1418, when Eric, of Pomerania, requested permission from Pope Martin V. to found a university at Copenhagen, and only obtained it, on the express condition, that the Holy Scriptures should neither be read nor explained in it, but

(30) Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, IV. Cent. xv. ch. iii. *passim.*

that the lectures should be confined to profane literature![31]

Other difficulties, also, beside those arising from papal opposition, presented themselves to such as were desirous of reading the Scriptures, for copies of them were rare, and expensive, and could seldom be obtained but by the wealthy; except when the indefatigable advocates of Gospel purity happened to have the opportunity, possessed the ability, and submitted to the labour of transcribing. Even those who had acquired the important art of writing, obtained with difficulty the materials requisite for transcription or epistolary correspondence.[32]

Happily about this period the noble and important ART OF PRINTING was discovered, and the sources of knowledge soon became comparatively easy of access. Our honest martyrologist thus enumerates the advantages resulting from this incomparable invention: "Hereby tongues are known, knowledge groweth, judgment increaseth, books are dispersed, the Scripture is seen, the doctors be read, stories be opened, times compared, truth discerned, falsehood detected, and with finger pointed, and all through the benefit of printing. Wherefore, I suppose that either the pope must abolish printing, or he must seek a new world to reign over; or else, as this world standeth, printing doubtless will abolish him. Both the pope, and all his college of cardinals, must this understand, that through the light of printing, the world beginneth now to have eyes to see, and heads to judge. He cannot walk so invisibly in a net, but he will be spied. And although, through might, he stopped the mouth of JOHN HUSS before, and of JEROM, that they might not preach, thinking to make his kingdom sure: yet, instead of JOHN HUSS, and others, God hath opened

(31) Dr. Henderson's MS. Hist. of Danish Versions, in which he refers to Pontoppidan's Annal. Eccles. Dan., II. p. 521.

(32) Beckman's History of Inventions, II. p. 223.

the *press* to preach, whose voice the pope is never able to stop, with all the puissance of his triple crown. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the singular organ of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the Gospel soundeth to all nations and countries under heaven: and what God revealeth to one man, is dispersed to many, and what is known in one nation is opened to all."[33]

(33) Fox's Actes and Monumentes, I. p. 837.

PART III.

FROM THE INVENTION OF PRINTING.

CHAPTER I.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY CONTINUED.

Invention of Printing. Early Printers. First printed Bibles. Book Censors. Indices Expurgatorii. Licensers of the Press.

PRINTING appears to be indebted for its origin to the *art of engraving on wood,* which was probably borrowed from the Chinese, among whom it was in use from the remotest periods. The first attempts at block-printing, in Europe, were made about the commencement of the fifteenth century, by the manufacturers of playing cards, who, after having employed blocks, or wood-engravings for their cards, began to engrave on wood, the *Images of the Saints,* which the clergy distributed on certain occasions to the people. Prints of this description, of the same size as the playing cards, representing different subjects of Sacred History and devotion, with a text analogous to the subject, opposite to the figure, are preserved in the library of Wolfenbuttel. But that they also engraved images of a larger size, is proved by the very curious wood-cut of St. Christopher, found by Baron Heinecken, in the convent of the Chartreux, at Buxheim, near Memmingen, and now in the superb collection of Earl Spencer; a *fac-simile* of which is given in Dibdin's splendid *Bibliotheca Spenceriana.* From the inscription engraved and printed, at the foot of

the print, it is proved to have been executed A. D. 1423.[1] To the images of the saints succeeded historical subjects, chiefly Biblical or devotional, generally denominated *Books of Images*, with a text or explanation engraven on the same tablet, the fullest account of which is given by Baron Heinecken, in his *Ideé Generale d'une Collection complette d'Estampes, avec une dissertation sur l' origine de la Gravure, et sur les premiers Livres des Images. Leipsic et Vienne*, 1771, 8vo. A judicious abridgment of this work, so far as refers to Books of Images, with *corrections* and *notices* of recently discovered works of this description, is contained in the appendix to Horne's *Introduction to the Study of Bibliography*, and is accompanied with a *fac-simile* of the first plate of the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, supposed to have been executed between the years 1440 and 1457; and another of the *Biblia Pauperum*, supposed to have been executed between A. D. 1420 and 1425. Several *fac-similes* of works of this nature, are engraved from rare copies in the possession of Earl Spencer, in the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, with bibliographical descriptions by the ingenious editor.

Of all the *Xylographic* works, that is, such as are printed from *wooden* tablets, the BIBLIA PAUPERUM, and the SPECULUM SALVATIONIS, are the most celebrated. The BIBLIA PAUPERUM, which consists of 40 plates of Biblical subjects, with analogous extracts and sentences, is unquestionably a very rare and ancient book. The few copies of it which are now extant, are, for the most part, either imperfect, or in a very bad condition; which ought not to excite surprise, when it is considered that this work was executed for the use of young persons and common people, (whence its name, the *Bible of the Poor,)* who were thus enabled to acquire at a low price a knowledge of some of the events recorded in the Scrip-

(1) Heinecken, Idée Generale d' Estampes, pp. 246, 248—251.

110994

tures. This will account for the destruction of almost every copy, by repeated use; for in those times, when the present art of printing was unknown, there were but few persons who could afford to give a hundred louis d'or for the manuscript of a complete Bible. A somewhat later edition has *fifty* instead of *forty* plates.

The SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS, or as it is frequently termed, *Speculum Salutis*, is confessedly, both in its design and execution, the most perfect of all the ancient books of images, which preceded the invention of printing. This compilation, which is in small folio, is a collection of historical passages from the Scriptures, with a few from profane history, which allude to them; and is ascribed by Heinecken (and after him by Lambinet) to a Benedictine monk, named brother John, in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. So popular was this *Mirror of Salvation*, that it was translated into the German, Flemish, and other languages, and very frequently printed.[2] The preface is printed with fusile types.

These Books of Images, chiefly executed in Holland,* though generally regarded as the first attempts of printing, were nevertheless a different art from the modern printing, which consists in the use of separate moveable types; which at first were cut in wood, afterwards in metal, and the art at length completed by the invention of founding types in moulds or matrices. For the invention of moveable types we are indebted to JOHN GUTENBERG, of Mayence, or Mentz, a celebrated town in Germany.

HENNE GOENSFLEISCH de *Sulgeloch, or Sorgenloch*, commonly called JOHN GUTENBERG, was born at Mentz, of noble and wealthy parents, about the year 1400. In

(2) Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, II. App. pp. ii. x.

* It is probable that many of these Books of Images were printed at Haerlem, and that from hence arose the opinion, that LAWRENS COSTER of Haerlem was the *inventor* of printing. See Horne's *Introduction to Bibliography*, I. pp. 145—154; and *Classical Journal*, XXI. No. 41. pp. 117—137. Lond. 1820.

the year 1424, he took up his residence at Strasburg, as a merchant. The Abbé *Mauro Boni* says, that "stimulated by his genius to discover something *new*," he travelled in his youth through various countries, where he learned several arts unknown to the Germans. In 1430, he returned to his native city, as is evident from a deed of accommodation between himself and the nobles and burghers of the city of Mentz. A document adduced by Schoepflin, proves him to have been a wealthy man in 1434. Between that period and 1439, he had conceived, and perhaps made some few trials of the art of printing with *moveable*, and probably with metal types, though his first attempts are supposed to have been with *moveable characters cut in wood.** In the year 1441—2, Gutenberg lived at Strasburg, where he continued till about 1443, when he returned again to Mentz, and towards the year 1450, appears to have opened his mind fully to FUST, a goldsmith, of the same place, and prevailed on him to advance large sums of money, in order to make further and more complete trials of the art. Between the years 1450 and 1455, the celebrated BIBLE of 637 leaves, the *first important specimen of printing with metal types*, was executed between Gutenberg and Fust.[3]

This BIBLE, the first ever printed, is an edition of the LATIN VULGATE. It forms two volumes in folio, is printed in the large Gothic or German character, and is said to be "justly praised for the strength and beauty of the paper, the exactness of the register, the lustre of the ink, and the general beauty and magnificence of the volumes." It is without date, a circumstance which has

* Santander observes, that moveable wooden types could not have been used in printing any work, owing to their fragile and spongy nature, which rendered them liable to be easily broken, as well as constantly subject to contraction or dilation. See Santander, *Dict. Bibliographique*, I. p. 80, note (47).

(3) Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, I. p. lxxxvii. note. Santander, Dictionnaire Bibliographique choisi du quinzieme siécle. I. ch. i. pp. 10—107; Bruxelles et Paris, 1805, 8vo.

occasioned considerable dispute, as to its priority to other undated editions, executed about the same time. It has been noticed as containing 637 leaves, to distinguish it more accurately from the other editions without date. C. G. Schwarz, an eminent bibliographer, says, in his *Primaria quædam Documenta de Orig. Typog. Altorfii*, 1740, 4to. part ii. p. 4. that "in the year 1728, in a Carthusian monastery, a little beyond the walls of Mentz, he saw a copy of an old Latin Bible, which was printed in a large character, similar to what is called the Missal type; and that, however a few of the end leaves were cut out, so that the date, place, and printer's name, could not be ascertained, yet, in an ancient MS. catalogue of the same library, an entry, or memorandum, was made, that this Bible, with some other books, (the names of which he had forgotten,) was given to the monastery, by Gutenberg."[4] Copies of this superb work of Gutenberg's, are in his majesty's library, in the Bodleian Library, and in those of Earl Spencer, and Sir. M. M. Sykes, bart.

There is also a magnificent copy of this Bible in the Royal Library at Berlin, printed upon *vellum*, and enriched with a profusion of ancient and elegant embellishments; and in the king's library at Paris, there are two other copies of this most valuable edition, one upon *vellum*, in four volumes, and the other upon *paper*, in two volumes. The latter copy has a subscription in red ink, at the end of each volume. That at the end of the first volume, of which a *fac-simile* is given in the *Classical Journal*, No. 8, p. 481, is

Et sic est finis prime partis biblie
seu veteris testamenti. Illuminata
seu rubricata et ligata p henricum.
Albch alius Cremer Anno dm mcccc

(4) See Dibdin, *On the Vulgate Bible of* 1450—1455; inserted in Classical Journal, No. 8. pp. 471—484.

Ibi festo Bartholomei apli
Deo gracias - - - - - - Alleluia.

TRANSLATION.

'Here ends the first part of the Bible or Old Testament. Illuminated, or rubricated, and bound, by Henry Albch or Cremer, on St. Bartholomew's day, April, A. D. 1456. Thanks be to God. Hallelujah.'

At the end of the second volume the subscription is

Iste liber illuminatus ligatus et completus est p henricum Cremer vicariū ecclesie collegiate sancti Stephani maguntini sub anno dni millesimo quatringentesimo quinquagesimo sexto, festo assumptionis gloriose virginis Marie. Deo Gracias. Alleluia.

TRANSLATION.

'This book, illuminated and bound by Henry Cremer, vicar of the collegiate church of St. Stephen, at Mentz, was completed on the feast of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, A.D. 1456. Thanks be to God. Hallelujah.'[5]

The expenses incurred by this publication were so considerable, that Fust instituted a suit against Gutenberg; who was obliged to pay interest, and also part of the capital advanced. In consequence of this suit the partnership was dissolved; and the whole of Gutenberg's printing apparatus fell into the hands of Fust. But Gutenberg was not to be discouraged from following his pursuits: he established a new press, and continued to exercise his art until 1465, when being admitted by the Elector Adolphus, of Nassau, into his band of gentlemen-pensioners, with a handsome salary, he relinquished an art which had caused him so much trouble and vexation.[6] Gutenberg died A. D. 1468.

(5) Beloe's Anecdotes of Literature, V. p. 83.

(6) Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, I. p. 159. See also Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron, I. *Fourth Day*, where the various points in dispute, respecting Gutenberg's claims, are examined at large.

After the separation between Gutenberg and Fust, which took place in 1455, Fust began to print on his own account, with the assistance of PETER SCHOEFFER, a calligraphist, of Gernsheim; an industrious young man, of inventive talents, to whom is ascribed the art of founding types in moulds, or matrices; or what is more probable, the invention of *punches for striking the matrices;* for which Fust rewarded him, by giving him his only daughter, CHRISTINA, in marriage.

The first publication which is known to have issued from the press of FUST and SCHOEFFER, was a beautiful edition of the PSALMS, in *Latin,* finished August 14th, 1457, which, from the place where it was printed, is usually denominated the *Mentz Psalter.* It is the first book known to be extant, which has the name of the place where it was printed, and that of the printers, together with the date of the year when it was executed. The most perfect copy known, is that in the Imperial Library of Vienna. It was discovered in the year 1665, near Inspruck, in the castle of Ambras, where the Archduke Francis Sigismund had collected a prodigious quantity of MSS. and printed books; taken, for the most part, from the famous library of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, from whence it was transported to Vienna. The book is printed in folio, on vellum, and of such extreme rarity, that not more than six or seven copies are known to be in existence, all of which, however, differ from each other, in some respect or other. The *Psalter* occupies 135 leaves, and the *recto* the 136th, the remaining 41 leaves are appropriated to the litany, prayers, responses, vigils, &c. The Psalms are executed in larger characters than the hymns; the capital letters are cut on wood, with a degree of delicacy and boldness, which are truly surprising: the largest of them, the initial letters of the Psalms, which are black, red, and blue, must have passed *three times* through the press. A fac-simile of the first

letter of this noble Psalter, is given in Horne's *Introduction to the Study of Bibliography*, vol. I. p. 251. It is also given, with a few sentences of the first Psalm, in the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, vol. I. p. 107, coloured exactly after the original. Another edition of this PSALTER was printed in 1459, by the same printers, containing, probably, the first printed text of the ATHANASIAN CREED. It is said not to be equally beautiful with the former edition, though executed with the same types and capital letters, and also on vellum. The St. Alban's and Benedictine monks are supposed to have been at the expense of these editions of the Psalter.[7]

In 1462, Fust and Schoeffer published a *Latin Bible*, in 2 vols. fol. This is the first edition with a date, and like all the other early typographical productions, is of extreme rarity and value. The copies of this Bible on *paper*, are even more rare than those on *vellum*, of which last, more, probably, were printed, that they might have the greater resemblance to MSS. which the first printers endeavoured to imitate as much as possible. M. Lambinet, in his *Recherches sur l' origine de l' imprimerie*, p. 155, says, "It is certain that from the year 1463, Fust, Schoeffer, and their partners, sold or exchanged, in Germany, Italy, France, and the most celebrated universities, the great number of books which they had printed; and whenever they could, *sold them as MSS.* As proofs of which, it may be remarked, 1st. That we know of no work that issued from their press, betwixt the *Bible* of 1462, and the first edition of *Cicero de Officiis*, in 1465. 2nd. Gabriel Naudè informs us, that Fust brought to Paris a considerable number of copies of the *Bible*, of 1462. As they were on parchment, and the capital let-

(7) Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, I. p. 160; and II. App. p. lii. Dibdin's Bibliotheca Spenceriana, I. pp. 107, 108. 117. Dibdin's Typographical Antiq. I. *Life of Caxton*, pp. ci. and cii. Santander, Dict. Bibliographique, I. *ut sup.*

ters illuminated with blue, and purple, and gold, after the manner of the ancient MSS. he sold them as such, at 60 crowns. But those who first purchased copies, comparing them together, soon found that they exactly resembled each other: afterwards, they learned that Fust had sold a great number of copies, and had lowered the price, first to 40, and then to 20 crowns. The fraud being thus discovered, he was pursued by the officers of justice, and forced to fly from Paris, and return to Mentz; but not finding himself safe, he again quitted Mentz, and withdrew to Strasburg, where he taught the art to Mentelin. The facility with which Fust thus supplied Bibles for sale, is said to have caused him to be accounted a necromancer; and to have given rise to the well-known story of the Devil and Dr. Faustus. Others have called the truth of this in question, and have remarked that there was a Faustus living at the same period, who wrote a poem *De influentia Syderum*, which, with a number of other tracts, was printed at Paris, "per Guidonum Mercatorem, 1496." His proper name was Publius Faustus Andrelinus Foroliviencis, but he called himself, and his friends in their letters to him called him, *Faustus*.[8] A curious deed of sale, of this edition of the Bible, informs us, that Herman de Stratten, agent of Fust and Schoeffer, sold a copy of it to William Tourneville, bishop of Angers, for 40 golden crowns, in 1470. The MS. memorandum, in Latin, was found in one of the vellum copies of this Bible; the following is the sense: "I Herman, a German, workman of the honest and discreet John Guymier, sworn bookseller of the university of Paris, acknowledge to have sold to the illustrious and learned Master William, of Tourneville, archbishop and canon of Angiers, my most respectable

(8) Gentleman's Magazine, 1812, pt. ii. p. 523.
Peignot, Essai sur Parchemin, pp. 70. 100. notes.
Chevillier, L' Origine de l' Imprimerie de Paris, pt. i, ch. i. p. 16. Paris, 1694, 4to.

lord and master, a BIBLE AT MENTZ, *printed upon vellum*, in two volumes, for the price and sum of forty crowns, which I have absolutely received, which also I ratify by these presents, promising to abide by the same, and guaranteeing my lord, purchaser of the said Bible, against any one who would dispossess him. In ratification of which I have hereunto affixed my seal, this 5th day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord MCCCCLXX. Herman."[9]

In 1462, Fust also printed an edition of the GERMAN BIBLE, in 2 vols. fol. which is the first *German Bible* with a date; but the priority must be allowed to an edition without date, place, or printer's name, of which a copy is in Lord Spencer's library. There is also a copy of the latter in the Electoral Library at Munich, with two MS. observations, the one of the date of 1467, being that of the illuminator, at the end of the Prophet Jeremiah; the other is at the end of the Apocalypse, and contains a notice of the genealogical respectability of one Hector Mulich, and a memorandum to this effect, "1466, 27th of June, this book was bought unbound for 12 guilders." Hector Mulich received a patent of nobility from the Emperor Ferdinand that same year. The author of this translation is unknown; and Walchius remarks, that "there were several ancient versions all made from the Latin, but so obscure and barbarous as to be almost unintelligible."[10]

In the same year, (1462,) Mentz was taken by storm, by Adolphus, count of Nassau. In the confusion that followed, Fust and Schoeffer suffered materially in common with their fellow-citizens, and being obliged to suspend their typographical labours till tranquillity was restored, their workmen dispersed themselves, and established printing in

(9) Dibdin's Biblioth. Spencer. I. p. 16, note.
(10) Walchii Biblioth. Theologica, IV. cap. viii. p. 77. Ineæ 1765, 8vo. Dibdin's Biblioth Spencer. I. pp. 42. 46.

several other parts of Europe. The death of Fust happened at Paris, in 1466; after which Schoeffer carried on the business alone till his decease in 1502, or 1503. He left three sons, printers, the elder of whom succeeded to his father's business, and exercised his art till 1533. During the period that Schoeffer conducted the business alone, he published an edition of the *Latin Bible*, and two editions of the *Latin Psalter*. The *Bible* was printed in 1471, 2 vols. fol. and the *Psalter* in 1490 and 1502, fol.[11] Many editions of the *Latin Bible* were, about the same period, executed by other printers in different places, most or all of whom had learned the art from the original inventors; and so indefatigable were these early printers, that nearly one hundred editions of the LATIN BIBLE were printed before the end of the fifteenth century, sixteen of which were accompanied with the POSTILLA, or *Commentary* of DE LYRA. Besides these, there were upwards of thirty editions of the LATIN PSALTER, many of them with *Commentaries;* three editions of the *Latin* New Testament, with *Lyra's Notes;* and several editions of the *Prophets*, the *Gospels*, or other *parts* of the Sacred Volume.[12]

One of the most extensive and eminent printers of this century, was ANTONY KOBURGER, or COBURGER. His office was at Nuremberg, where he died in 1513. He was styled *the prince of booksellers and printers;* and is said to have employed twenty-four presses, and one hundred men, beside furnishing work for the printers of Basil, or Basle, Lyons, and other places. He had warehouses at Nuremberg, Paris, and Lyons. Almost all his books relate to the canon law, and to theology; and are distinguished for the lustre and magnificence of their execution. Of thirty-seven editions printed by him, *thirteen* are of the *Bible*, viz. twelve in *Latin*, and one in *German*, all

(11) Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, II. App. No. vii.
(12) See Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra edit. Masch, pt. ii. vol. III. cap. ii. *passim.*

in folio. Most of the Latin editions were accompanied with the Postills of De Lyra. But his most superb work was the edition of the *German Bible*, which he printed in 1483, folio. This is said to be the first German Bible printed at Nuremberg; and is pronounced by Lichtenberger to be the most splendid of all the ancient German Bibles. It is embellished with impressions from the very curious wood-cuts which had been previously used for the Cologne edition of the Bible, printed by Quentel, in 1480, and which were also employed in the Bible printed at Halberstadt, in the Low Saxon dialect, in 1522: and it is worthy of remark, that in one of the large wood-cuts employed by Koburger, the *pope* is introduced as being among the principal of the *fallen angels!* The paper, characters, press-work,—all concur to prove this Bible a masterpiece of typographical excellence.[13]

GUNTHER ZAINER is considered as having introduced printing into Augsburg; unless that honour should be conceded to John Bemler, who is supposed to have been the printer of a *Latin Bible* in 2 vols. fol. in 1466. From De Murr we learn, that in an old book of entries of benefactors to the Carthusian monastery at Buxheim, there is one of the date of 1474, in which the name of "dns Gunther^{9} imp̄sor ciuis auguste" occurs, as the printer and donor of certain works, and among others of "the BIBLE IN THE VULGAR TONGUE," (GERMAN,) "in super-royal form." Another entry informs us of the death of Gunther Zainer in 1478—"impressor librorum, ciuis Augustensis benefactor huius domus," "printer of books, citizen of Augsburg, benefactor to this house."[14]

CONRAD SWEYNHEIM, and ARNOLD PANNARTZ, two Germans, introduced the art of printing into ROME, in the year 1466, in the second year of the pontifi-

(13) Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, II. App. No. vii. III. p. lx. Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron, I. p. 163.

(14) Dibdin's Biblioth. Spencer. I. p. 50.

cate of Paul II. under the patronage of John Andreas, bishop of Aleria, who was the pope's librarian, and justly famed for his learning and generosity. They had previously exercised the art in the monastery of Subbiaco, in the kingdom of Naples, to which they had been invited by the monks; and where they had printed, in 1465, an edition of Lactantius's works, in which the quotations from the Greek authors are printed in a neat, but heavy Greek letter, of which a specimen is given in Horne's *Introduction to the Study of Bibliography*, vol. I. p. 245. They also were the first to introduce what has since been called the *Roman* character, instead of the *Gothic*, or *Black* letter. The paper and types made use of by these printers were both excellent, and their ink, it is observed, "may vie in blackness with the best of the present day." They were encouraged by all the men of letters and fortune at Rome, and even by the pope himself, who frequently visited their printing-house, and examined, with admiration, every branch of this new art. The bishop of Aleria especially, not only furnished them with the most valuable MSS. out of the Vatican and other libraries, but also prepared the copy, corrected their proofs, and prefixed dedications and prefaces to their works, in order to recommend them the more to the learned world, and followed this laborious task with such application, that he scarcely allowed himself time for necessary relaxation. These printers settled in the house of the Maximis, brothers, and Roman knights, from whence their works are dated. In 1471, they published a LATIN BIBLE in 2 vols. fol. with an *Epistle* of the bishop of Aleria to Pope Paul III., Aristeas's *History of the Septuagint*, and Jerom's *Prefaces* to the different books of the Old and New Testament. As this edition varies in several places from former editions, it is probable the bishop of Aleria furnished the printers with a more correct MS. copy from the library of the

pope, or from some other source, or at least corrected the Mentz edition by such MS. Of this edition they printed 550 copies. In the same year they commenced an edition of the *Postills* of De Lyra, in 5 vols. fol. which they completed the following year. This ponderous work seems to have ruined these indefatigable artists, for in a Latin petition of the printers to the pope, Sixtus IV. written by the bishop of Aleria, and prefixed to the fifth volume of De Lyra's Postills, or Commentary, they state themselves to be reduced to poverty, by the pressure of the times, and the vast expense of the works they had printed, of which great numbers remained unsold. In the course of seven years, they had published twenty-eight different works, some of them very large; the impressions of which amounted to 12,475 volumes, an immense number at that period! It is evident, however, that some method must have been taken to extricate them from their distress; for although Sweynheim published nothing after the year 1473, and for that reason is supposed by some to have died about that time, yet his partner, Pannartz, continued printing until about 1476, using a smaller type than what had been used by him during the former partnership.—An extract from the Latin petition of the printers to the pope, is given, with a list of their works, in Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature and scarce Books*, vol. III. p. 266. There is also a short extract from it in Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra*.[15]

Ulric Gering, a German, and a native of Constance, with Martin Crantz, and Michael Friburger, his associates, commenced printing at Paris, in 1470; and in 1476, or, according to Chevillier, in 1475, printed a Latin Bible, in 2 vols. fol. This celebrated edition attracted much

(15) Lemoine's Typographical Antiquities, pp. 21—23.
Le Long, edit. Masch. pt. ii. vol. III. cap. ii. sec. 1. p. 103: and sec. 3. p. 360.

curiosity and discussion, about the middle of the last century, in consequence of a fraud practised upon a copy of it, now in the Public Library at Cambridge. By an alteration and erasure in the colophon, it is ascribed to the year 1463, or 1464; the words *tribus undecimus lustris*, in the first line, referring to the reign of Louis XI. being altered into *semi undecimus lustrum*, and the two last lines being erased. A full account of the detection of this fraud, which for many years engaged the attention of bibliographers, may be found in two letters written by Dr. Taylor, preserved in Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. I. pp. 542—548.

Chevillier observes, that "this was the first time the Holy Bible had been printed at Paris, or in the whole kingdom of France."[16]

Albert Pfister, of *Bamberg*, appears to have been the first printer in Germany, who introduced *wood-cuts* into his publications, in order to illustrate the Sacred Text, but of a character and execution inferior to the *Block-books*, or *Books of Images*, executed in the Low Countries. The *Histories of Joseph, Daniel, Judith, and Esther*, printed by Pfister, in 1462, in the *German* language, is said to be "the earliest printed book containing *Text* and *Engravings* illustrative of Scriptural subjects;" and it is probable that this partial impression of the Sacred Text, thus decorated, gave the idea of publishing the *entire* Text of the Bible, with similar embellishments, and in the same language, at Augsburg, about the year 1473, and a similar one by Fyner, of Eslingen, between the years 1474 and 1477: a practice frequently adopted afterwards, both in the editions of the *German* and other vernacular translations, and in various editions of the Latin Bible. He is also supposed to have published a Bible,

(16) Chevillier, L' Origine de l' Imprimerie de Paris, p. 74.
Nichols's Lit. Anec. Eighteenth Century, I. pp. 542. 548. No. vi.
Greswell's Annals of Parisian Typography, p. 5. Lond. 1818, 8vo.

about A. D. 1460, described in the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, vol. I. p. 7.[17]

Besides being established in many other places on the Continent, in addition to those already noticed, printing was, about the same period, introduced into ENGLAND, by WILLIAM CAXTON, a merchant of London, who, after residing many years abroad, was appointed in 1464, by Edward IV. as his ambassador, (in conjunction with Richard Whetenhall,) to negociate a treaty of commerce with the duke of Burgundy, Edward's brother-in-law. During his residence in these countries, he acquired the knowledge of printing; and became acquainted with Raoul Le Fevre, chaplain to the duke, whose "*Le Recueil des Histoires de Troyes*," he began to translate in 1468, and afterwards published his English version, in 1471, at the request of his patroness Margaret, dutchess of Burgundy. The original of this work was the first book Caxton printed, A. D. 1464—7. Of the exact period when he returned to England, and introduced the art of printing into the metropolis, we have no correct information. Thus much, however, is certain, that, previously to the year 1477, he had quitted the Low Countries, where he had principally resided, and was living in the vicinity of Westminster Abbey. To the erection of Caxton's press near one of the chapels attached to the aisles of the abbey, is to be attributed the technical application of the term *chapel*, to the internal regulations of a printing office;

> "Each printer hence, howe'er unbless'd his walls,
> "E'en to this day his house a *chapel* calls."

Nor is it improbable, that his *printing office* might supersede the use of the *Scriptorium.* of the abbey.

The first specimen of ENGLISH TYPOGRAPHY is generally allowed to have been the *Game of Chess*, in 1474; but Mr. Dibdin suspects that work to have been printed abroad, and thinks it more probable, that the *Romance*

(17) Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron, I. pp. 160. 373.

of Jason was the earliest production of his press, after its establishment in the abbey. The last work which he printed, was his edition of the *Vitas Patrum*, or "Lives of the Fathers," in 1495. By the colophon it appears that these *Lives* were translated by him out of French into English, and that "he finished them at the last day of his life." He might have chosen this work as his final literary effort, observes one of his biographers, from a consideration, that "from the examples of quiet and solemn retirement therein set forth, it might further serve to wean his mind from all worldly attachments, exalt it above the solicitudes of this life, and inure him to that repose and tranquillity with which he seems to have designed it."[18] It is, however, to be regretted, that whilst most of the Continental printers published one or more editions of the *Latin Bible*, or of some *vernacular version*, Caxton printed no part of the Sacred Volume; for which, the best, and perhaps the only true apology is, the danger that would have attended such an attempt.*

Caxton, though the *earliest*, was not the only printer in England, during the period in which he flourished. John Lettou, William de Machlinia, Wynkyn de Worde, and others, printed in Westminster and London, both before and after his decease; as did several also at Oxford, Cambridge, and St. Albans.

In glancing at the rapid extension of the invaluable art of printing, it ought not to be forgotten, that JEWS, as well as CHRISTIANS, became at an early period convinced of its importance, and engaged in it with ardour. The PSALMS in HEBREW, *with the Commentary of Kimchi*, were printed in 1477, in 4to. by JOSEPH and his son CHAIM MORDECAI, and HEZEKIAH MONRO, who printed 300

(18) Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, I. *Life of Caxton, and Account of Books printed by W. Caxton, passim.*
Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, I. pp. 187—192.

* See the quotation from More's *Dyaloges*, p. 54. of this vol.

copies of them. The PENTATEUCH, with the *Targum* and the *Commentary of R. Jarchi*, was printed at Bologne in Italy, in 1482, fol. RUTH, ECCLESIASTES, SONG OF SOLOMON, and LAMENTATIONS, with the *Commentary of Jarchi*; and ESTHER with the *Commentary of R. Abenezra*, were printed also at Bologne, in fol. in the same year. The *former* and *latter* PROPHETS were first printed in Hebrew, at Soncino, in 1486, fol. with the *Commentary of R. Kimchi*. The HAGIOGRAPHA were printed at Naples, 1487, in small fol. accompanied with several *Rabbinical Commentaries*. The *first* edition of the *whole* of the Hebrew Bible, was executed by ABRAHAM BEN CHAIM, at Soncino, in 1488, fol. with points. An edition, in octavo, was printed at Brescia, in 1494, by Gerson Moses ben Moses Menzeln. This latter edition is the one made use of by Luther, in his *German* translation; and his own copy of it is still preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin. Beside these, there were published at Soncino, in 1494, a folio and a quarto edition, without points, and an octavo one, with small types and points.[20]

In the early stages of typography, the name of the printer, his place of residence, and the date of his performance, were generally inserted at the *end* of each book, and not unfrequently accompanied by some pious doxology or ejaculation, in prose, or verse. From the invention of the art, to the year 1480, or even 1485, printed books were, generally speaking, without *title-pages*; and when first introduced, a simple line, or a line and a half, or at most three or four lines, towards the top of the page, constituted the whole of the decoration,- till

(20) Kennicott, Dissertatio Generalis, sec. 59. Cod. 255—260. pp. 25. 91, 92.
Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. i. cap. i. sec. 2. pp. 141, 142; and sec. 1, pp. 5. 7.
De Rossi, De ignotis antiquiss. editionibus, cap. i. p. 3. Erlang, 1782; 4to.
Whittaker's Hist. and Crit. Enquiry, p. 22.

about 1490, when ornamental title-pages came into use, the most common of which was the representation of the author or writer at his desk; but subsequently, other devices were invented, some of them of the character of vignettes, others displaying the monogram, &c. of the printer. The leaves were without running title, direction word, number of pages, or divisions into paragraphs. The words were not divided at the ends of lines by hyphens, but in order to compress as much as possible within a given compass, the printers made use of vowels with a mark of abbreviation, as for instance, *dn̄o* for *domino*; *c'* for *cum; quib⁹* for *quibus; argn̄toq;* for *argentoque*, &c. The vowels and consonants *u* and *v*, *i* and *j*, are confounded together, and used one for the other; the diphthongs *æ* and *œ* were generally supplied by the simple *e*: *c* was often used for *t*, as *nacio* for *natio; f* for *ph*, as *fantasma* for *phantasma; mihi* was sometimes spelled *michi; somnum, sompnum; quotidiana, cotidiana;* the orthography was consequently various, and often arbitrary. Capital letters were not used to begin a sentence, or for proper names of men, or places: blank spaces were left for the places of titles, initial letters, and other ornaments, to be supplied by the ingenious hand of the illuminator. The points by which they distinguished their sentences, were the colon, and period, and an oblique stroke (*/*) for the comma. The character first used was a rude old Gothic mixed with Secretary, designed to imitate the hand-writing of those times; afterwards the Roman was adopted by Sweynheim, and Pannartz; and in 1502, the *Italic* was invented by Aldus. Ed. Rowe Mores, in his *Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies*, adds, that "metal characters were first used for the *Greek* by the monks of Subiaco," (Sweynheim and Pannartz,) " in 1465; for the *Arabic*, by Porrus of Genoa, in 1516; for the *Æthiopic*, by Potken, in 1513; and that the *Congregation at Rome for the propagation of the faith*

in the year 1636, had, besides those we have just now mentioned, types for the *Samaritan*, for the *Syriac*, both *Fshito* and *Estrangelo*, for the *Coptic*, for the *Armenian*, for the *Rabbinic Hebrew*, and for the *Heraclean*, or ancient language of the *Chaldees*."[21]

The first printers executed their different works at their own expense, and sold them themselves, or by their agents, at their own risk. It was therefore necessary to employ large capitals; paper and other materials, as well as labour, being exceedingly dear, and the purchasers being but few; partly from the high prices of the books themselves, and partly from the illiteracy which so generally prevailed. These causes reduced many of the early printers to poverty; until the printers relieved themselves by confining their attention solely to printing, and leaving the *bookselling* part of the business to others. This created a distinct profession of *Booksellers*, who frequently caused the books sold, to be printed at their own expense, and thus also became *Publishers*. Sometimes rich people of all conditions, and particularly eminent merchants, engaged in this branch of the profession, and employed the printers to print the manuscripts which they had purchased from the authors, or possessors. Thus, the learned Henry Stephen, at Paris, was printer to Ulric Fugger, at Augsburg, from whom he received a salary for printing the many manuscripts which he purchased. In some editions from the year 1558 to 1567, he subscribes himself *Henricus Stephanus, illustris viri Hulderici Fuggeri typographus*. In like manner, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, a society of learned and rich citizens of Augsburg, at the head of whom was Marx Welser, the city steward, printed a great number

(21) Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, I. ch. ii. sect. 7.
Rowe More's Dissert. upon English Typographical Founders, p. 12. Lond. 1778.
Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron, II. pp. 297—316.

of books, which had commonly at the end these words, *Ad insigne pinus.* In Germany, this branch of trade was at first established chiefly at Frankfort on the Mayn; and afterwards at Leipsic, where at the time of the fairs, several large booksellers' shops were opened for the disposal of their *literary* wares. These marts are still continued; and to them we owe the origin of the *Sale Catalogues* of booksellers, the earliest of which was printed at Frankfort, in 1554.[22]

The multiplication of books, and the consequent diffusion of knowledge, by the invention of printing, soon met with violent opposition from the transcribers and illuminators, of whom there were in Paris and Orleans *only,* upwards of *ten thousand;* who, perceiving that the newly discovered art was likely to supersede their respective employments, attempted to suppress it by calling in the aid of the civil authorities. When printing therefore was first established at Paris, the copyists presented a memorial of complaint to the parliament, which caused their books to be seized and confiscated. Louis XI. who, with all his bad qualities, was the friend and patron of letters, prohibited the parliament from taking any further cognizance of the affair, and restored their property to the printers.[23] But a much more formidable obstacle was presented to the general spread of literature, by the restrictions imposed upon the authors and venders of books, by the ecclesiastical and civil powers. So early as the time of our King Henry II. nearly two centuries prior to the invention of printing, the manner of publishing the works of their authors, was to have them read over for three days successively, before the university, or other judges appointed by the public; and if they met with approbation, copies of them were permitted to be taken, which were

(22) Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions, III. pp. 118—120.
(23) Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, I. p. 164. *note.* Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron, I. p. cxxvii.

usually done by monks, scribes, illuminators, and readers, brought or trained up to that purpose for their maintenance. A method adopted, probably, by every other university in Europe, at that period. In the year 1272, the university of Paris instituted a plan, not only for approving books, but for determining the *price* of them; and in the year 1323, appointed four officers, called *Taxatores Librorum*, to regulate the price of all manuscript-books. Chevillier tells us, that the greater part of the MSS. bequeathed to the library of the Sorbonne shortly after it was founded, have a price marked upon each of them; and that from a catalogue made of them in the year 1292, this library contained, more than a thousand priced volumes, which, from the sum total specified at the end of the inventory, amounted in the whole to £3892. 10. 8! A similar practice afterwards obtained in the universities of our own country; and it may be worthy of remark, that the act of the 25th of Henry VIII. ch. xv. sec. 4, granting to the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, and the two chief justices, the power of regulating the prices of books, when too exorbitant, was not repealed till the 12th. of George II. The prices affixed to books by the "Taxatores," or other officers, were, after the invention of printing, frequently expressed in the colophon of the respective works. Chevillier, in his "Origine de l' Imprimerie de Paris," pp. 368—375, has given a variety of colophons respecting the sums at which printers professed to sell their publications; thus Colinæus was obliged to sell his *Greek Testament* for a sum not exceeding 12 sous; and a *Hebrew Psalter* of Robert Stephens was priced at 7 sous. In England, the price affixed by the king's authority to the *New Testament with notes*, printed by Richard Jugg, in 1553, 4to. was 22 pence *per* copy, in sheets.[24]

Soon after the discovery of printing, laws were made

(24) Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, I. pp. 8—11, *note*.

for subjecting books to examination; and the establishment of *Book-Censors*, and *Licensers of the press*, was strenuously supported by the Romish clergy, who feared the circulation of publications inimical to their religious views, or their ecclesiastical domination. The earliest instance of a book printed with a permission from government, is commonly supposed to occur in the year 1480; but Professor Beckmann mentions two books printed almost a year sooner than 1479, with the approbation of the public censor. The first is, *Wilhelmi episcopi Lugdunensis Summa de Virtutibus:* the other is a BIBLE, with the following conclusion: "In the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1479, on the vigil of Matthew the apostle; when this notable work, of the Old and New Testament, with the canons of the Gospels, and their harmonies, to the praise and glory of the holy and undivided Trinity, and the immaculate virgin Mary, was printed in the city of Cologne, by Conrad de Homborch; *allowed* and *approved* by the university of Cologne."[25]

The oldest mandate for appointing a *Book-Censor*, with which we are acquainted, is that issued by Berthold, archbishop of Mentz, in the year 1486, which the curious reader will not be displeased to see at full length; with the instructions given to the censors.

PENAL MANDATE, FORBIDDING THE TRANSLATION INTO THE VULGAR TONGUE, &c. OF GREEK, LATIN, AND OTHER BOOKS, WITHOUT THE PREVIOUS APPROBATION OF THE DOCTORS, &c.

"BERTHOLD, by the grace of God, archbishop of the holy see of Mentz, arch-chancellor of Germany, and electoral prince of the holy Roman empire."

"ALTHOUGH, by a certain divine art of printing, abundant and easy access is obtained to books on every science necessary to the attainment of human learning; yet we have perceived that certain men, led by the desire of

(25) Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions, III. pp. 105. 107.

vain glory, or money, do abuse this art; and that what was given for the instruction of human life, is perverted to purposes of mischief and calumny. For, to the dishonouring of religion, we have seen in the hands of the vulgar, certain books of the divine offices, and writings* of our religion, translated from the Latin, into the German tongue. And what shall we say of the sacred laws and canons, which though they have been written in the most suitable and careful manner, by men acquainted with law, and endowed with the greatest skill and eloquence, yet the science itself is so intricate, that the utmost extent of the life of the wisest and most eloquent man is scarcely equal to it? Some volumes on this subject, certain rash and unlearned simpletons have dared to translate into the vulgar tongue, whose translation, many persons who have seen it, and those, too, learned men, have declared to be unintelligible, in consequence of the very great misapplication and abuse of words. Or what is to be said of works on the other sciences, with which they sometimes even intermingle things that are false; and which, in order the more readily to find purchasers for them, they inscribe with false titles, and attribute to notable authors what are merely their own productions?"

"Let such translators, whether they do this with a good, or with a bad intention, let them, if they pay any regard to truth, say, whether the German tongue be capable of expressing that which excellent writers, both Greek and Latin, have most accurately and argumentatively written on the sublime speculations of the Christian religion, and on the knowledge of things? They must acknowledge that the poverty of our idiom renders it insufficient; and

* It is probable that by the terms "libros de divinis officiis et apicibus Religionis nostre," the archbishop referred to the vernacular translations, not only of the *Service-books* of the Romish church, called the *Divine Offices*, but also of the *Holy Scriptures;* the word *apices* being generally used, in the middle ages, for *writings, epistles*, &c. See Du Cange, *sub voce.*

that it will be necessary for them to invent from their own minds, new terms for things; or, that, supposing them to make use only of the old ones, they must corrupt the sense of the truth, which, from the greatness of the danger attendant upon it, in the Sacred Writings, we greatly dread; for who would leave it to ignorant and unlearned men, and to the female sex, into whose hands copies of the Holy Scriptures may have fallen, to find out the true meaning of them? For instance, let the text of the Holy Gospels, or of St. Paul's Epistles, be examined, and no one of any knowledge will deny that there is a necessity for many things to be supplied, or understood, from other writings."

"These things have occurred to our minds, because they are the most common. But, what shall we think of those which are pending in very sharp disputes amongst writers in the Catholic church? Many other instances might be brought forward, but it is sufficient for our purpose to have named a few."

"But, since the beginning of this art arose *divinely*, (to give it its proper appellation) in this our golden city of Mentz, and continues in it to this day, in its most improved and perfect state; it is with the greatest justice that we defend the glory of the art, and it becomes our duty to preserve the unspotted purity of the Divine Writings. Wherefore, with a view of meeting and restraining as with a bridle, the aforesaid errors, and the daring attempts of shameless or wicked men, as far as we are able by the will of God, whose cause is in question;—we do, by strictly charging the observance of these presents, command all and every the ecclesiastical and secular persons subject to our jurisdiction, or transacting business within its limits, of whatever degree, order, profession, dignity, or condition, they may be, that they translate no works on any science, art, or knowledge whatsoever, from the Greek, Latin, or other language, into the vulgar Ger-

man; nor, when translated, either dispose of, or obtain copies, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, by any kind of barter, unless before their impression they shall have been admitted, by patent, to be sold, by the most noble and honourable our beloved doctors and masters of the university in our city of Mentz, JOHN BERTRAM de NUREMBERG, in theology; ALEXANDER DIETHRICH, in law; THEODORIC de MESCHEDE, in medicine; and ALEXANDER ELER, in arts;—the doctors and masters deputed for this purpose in the university of our city of Erfurt; or if in the town of Frankfort, the books exposed for sale shall have been seen and approved of by an honourable, devout, and beloved master in theology, belonging to the place, and one or two doctors and licentiates, annually paid for that purpose by the governor of the said town. And whoever shall treat with contempt this our provision, or shall lend his counsel, assistance, or favour, in any way, directly or indirectly, in opposition to this our mandate, let him know that he has by so doing incurred the sentence of excommunication; and beside the loss of the books exposed for sale, a penalty of 100 florins of gold, to be paid into our treasury; from which sentence none may absolve him without special authority."

"Given at the chancery of St. Martin, in our city of Mentz, under our seal, on the fourth day of the month January, MCCCCLXXXVI."

The following are the *Instructions* issued to the censors, and accompanying the above mandate:

"BERTHOLD, &c. to the honourable, most learned, and beloved in Christ, Jo. BERTRAM, doctor in theology; AL. DIETHRICH, doctor in law; TH. de MESCHEDE, doctor in medicine; and AL. ELER, master of arts;—health and attention to the things underwritten."

"Having found out several scandals and frauds, committed by certain translators of literary works, and

printers of books, and wishing to counteract them, and according to our power to block up their way, we command that no one in our diocese, or under our jurisdiction, translate any books into the German tongue, or print, or sell them when printed, unless, in our city of Mentz, such works or books, have first, according to the form of the mandate above published, been by you seen, and as to their matter approved of, both for translation, and for sale."

"We do, therefore, by the tenor of these presents, (having great confidence in your prudence and circumspection,) charge you, that if at any time, any works, or books, intended to be translated, printed, or sold, be brought to you, you shall weigh their matter, and, if they cannot be easily translated according to the true sense, but would rather beget errors and offences, or be injurious to modesty, you shall reject them; and whatever books you shall judge worthy to be allowed, two of you, at least, shall sign them, at the end, with your own hand, in order that it may more readily appear, what books have been seen and allowed by you. In so doing you will perform an office pleasing to our God, and useful to the state."

"Given at the chancery of St. Martin, under our privy-seal, the 10th of January, MCCCCLXXXVI."[26]

In the year 1501, the infamous Pope Alexander VI. published a bull, relative to the censure of books, which forms an excellent companion to the above mandate of the archbishop of Mentz. After lamenting that Satan sows tares amongst the wheat of Christ's church, the papal pontiff proceeds thus: "Having been informed, that by means of the said art, [of printing,] many books and treatises, containing various errors, and pernicious doctrines, even hostile to the holy Christian religion, have been printed,

(26) See Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions, III. pp. 108—113, for the *Latin*; where also reference is given to Guden's *Codex Diplomaticus*, VI.

and are still printed, in various parts of the world, particularly in the provinces of Cologne, Mentz, Triers, and Magdeburg; and being desirous, without further delay, to put a stop to this detestable evil;—We, by these presents, and by the authority of the apostolic chamber, strictly forbid all printers, their servants, and those exercising the art of printing under them, in any manner whatsoever, in the above said provinces, under pain of excommunication, and a pecuniary fine, to be imposed and exacted by our venerable brethren, the archbishops of Cologne, Mentz, Triers, and Magdeburg, and their vicars general, or official in spirituals, according to the pleasure of each, in his own province, to print hereafter any books, treatises, or writings, until they have consulted on this subject, the archbishops, vicars, or officials, above mentioned, and obtained their special and express licence, to be granted free of all expense; whose consciences we charge, that before they grant any licence of this kind, they will carefully examine, or cause to be examined, by able and catholic persons, the works to be printed; and that they will take the utmost care that nothing may be printed wicked and scandalous, or contrary to the orthodox faith." The rest of the bull contains regulations, to prevent works already printed from doing mischief. All catalogues, and books printed before that period, are ordered to be examined, and those that contain any thing prejudicial to the catholic religion, to be burnt.[27]

In the 10th session of the council of Lateran, held under Leo X. in 1515, it was decreed, under pain of excommunication, that for the future no book should be printed at Rome, nor in the other cities and dioceses; unless, if at Rome, it had been examined by the "vicar of his holiness," and the "master of the palace;" or, if else-

(27) Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions, III. pp. 106—108.
See also, for the original Bull, Raynaldi Annales Ecclesiastici ab anno quo desinit Baronius, XIX. p. 514. Colon. Agrip. 1691, fol.

where, by the bishop of the diocese, or a doctor appointed by him, and had received the signature of approbation.[28] Philip II. king of Spain, is said to have had a catalogue printed, of books prohibited by the Spanish inquisition; and Paul IV. the following year, 1559, ordered the holy office at Rome to publish a similar catalogue; and Peignot *(Livres condamnés,* vol. I. p. 256*)* mentions one printed at Venice, as early as 1543.[29] But this inquisitorial practice assumed its most formidable form in the Council of Trent. "And first," says Dr. James, "the Council appointed certain learned men of all nations and countries there assembled, to gather such a CATALOGUE, or INDEX, together, as might contain all such books as were justly to be forbidden, whether written by, or against them. This work, thus wisely thought upon, was diligently performed, and the *Index* made and presented unto the council; who referred all matters back again unto the pope's holiness, which then was *Pius* IV.; who by his briefs and bulls, caused the same Index, together with certain rules, first by him approved and ratified, to be published abroad, and sent into all countries. This bull beareth date, the 24th of March, 1564, in the 5th year of his popedom. But (it seemeth) that books increasing, and with books certain disorders that could not be prevented; in the end, Pope *Sixtus,* the 5th of that name, revising both *Index* and *Rules,* with advice of the best divines, added very much thereunto, both in regard of the rules and of the books: and more he would have done, but that he was untimely prevented by death. Which being wisely perceived by *Clement* VIII. (a pope no less happy for ending and perfecting, than the other was for intending and purposing great matters,) he resumes the *Index,* and appoints seven, or eight of the gravest cardinals, besides other learned men, to oversee both it,

(28) Dictionnaire Portatif des Conciles, p. 280. Paris, 1764, 8vo.
(29) Curiosities of Literature, III. p. 181. Lond. 1817, 8vo.

and whatsoever did belong thereunto: and in the end, for the better speed, and more prosperous success of the *Sacred Inquisition*, appointed for the care and office of both prohibiting and purging books, he approves the index thus revised, and confirms the privileges formerly granted, first by *Pius* V. unto the *Master of the Sacred Palace*, and then by Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. unto the *Cardinals of the Congregation*, for the better enabling of them, unto the performance of this so necessary and weighty a business, which doth so nearly concern the safety of their church and commonwealth."[30] The same learned librarian of the Bodleian further informs us, speaking of his own times, "In the *Vatican Library*, there are certain men maintained only to transcribe acts of the councils, or copies of the works of the Fathers. These men," he adds, "appointed for this business, do, as I am credibly informed, in transcribing books, imitate the letter of the ancient copies, as near as can be expressed. And it is to be feared, that in copying out of books, they do add and take away, alter and change the words, according to the pleasure of their lord, the pope: and so, these transcripts may, within a few years, by reason of their counterfeiting the ancient hands, be avouched for very old MSS. deluding the world with a a show of antiquity."[31] In the second part of his *Treatise on the Corruption of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers*, Dr. James exemplifies the charges brought against the church of Rome, for corrupting the ancient writings, both Sacred and ecclesiastical.

In Rome, the compilers of the catalogues, or *indexes*, of prohibited books, are still continued, and called the *Congregation of the Index*. The works noticed in the indexes are divided into three classes, the first containing a

(30) James's Treatise on the Corruption of Scripture, &c. pt. iv. pp. 10, 11. Lond. 1611, 4to.

(31) Ibid. Appendix to Advertisement, &c.

list of condemned *authors*, the whole of whose writings are forbidden, except by express permission; the second enumerating works which are prohibited, till they have been purged of what the inquisitors deem erroneous; the third comprehending those *anonymous* publications which are either partially, or totally forbidden. The manner in which the Romish literary inquisitors formerly decided upon the works presented to them, was sometimes criminally careless, and the results sufficiently curious. Gregory Capuchin, a Neapolitan censor, informs us, that his practice was to burn such Bibles as were defective in the text; and that his mode of ascertaining the accuracy or inaccuracy of the Latin Bibles was, to examine the *third* chapter of Genesis, and "if I find," says he, "the words, 'in sudore vultus tui, vesceris pane tuo,' instead of 'in sudore vultus tui, vesceris pane donec,' (thus adding the word *tuo*,) I direct such copies not to be corrected, but to be committed to the flames." As the INDEXES were formed in different countries, the opinions were sometimes diametrically opposite to each other, and what one censor, or inquisitor, allowed, another condemned; and even in some instances, the censor of one country has his own works condemned in another. Thus the learned Arias Montanus, who was a chief inquisitor in the Netherlands, and concerned in the compilation of the *Antwerp Index*, had his own works placed in the *Index* of *Rome;* while the inquisitor of Naples was so displeased with the *Index of Spain*, as to persist in asserting, that it had never been printed at Madrid. This difference in judgment produced a doubtful and uncertain method of censure, and it became necessary for the inquisitors to subscribe their names to the indexes, in the following manner: "I, N.—inquisitor for such a diocese, do say, that this present book, thus by me corrected, may be tolerated and read, until such time as it shall be thought worthy of some further correction." But these *Prohibi-*

tory and *Expurgatory Indexes* were reserved only for the inquisitors, and when printed, delivered only into their hands, or those of their most trusty associates. Philip II. in his letters patent, for the printing of the first Spanish index, acknowledges, that it was printed by the king's printer, and at his own expense, *not for the public, but solely for the inquisitors, and certain ecclesiastics, who were not to be permitted to communicate the contents of it, or give a copy of it to any one.* And Sandoval, archbishop of Toledo, in the edition of 1619, prohibits, under pain of the greater excommunication, *any one to print the Index, or cause it to be printed; or when printed, to send it out of the kingdom, without a special license.* So difficult, indeed, were they to be obtained, that it is said the Spanish and Portuguese indexes were never known till the English took Cadiz; and the index of Antwerp was accidentally discovered by Junius, who afterwards reprinted it.[32]

Even after the Reformation, a regular establishment of *Licensers of the Press* appeared in England, under Charles I. procured by Archbishop Laud, to prevent the introduction or publication of any works by the *Genevan* party, and in particular the *Geneva* Bible. The decree is dated July 1st, 1637, and marks the violence and persecuting spirit of the ruling system. It orders, "That the master printers from thenceforth shall be reduced to a certain number; and that if any other shall secretly or openly pursue that trade, he shall be set in the pillory, or whipped through the streets, and suffer such other punishment as that court (viz. the star-chamber) shall inflict upon him; that none of the said master printers shall from thenceforth print any book or books of divinity, law, physic, philosophy, or poetry, till the said books, together

(32) James's Treatise, Advertisement, &c. pt. iv. pp. 13, 14, 15, &c. Lomeier, De Bibliothecis, pp. 382—387.
Franci Disquisitio de Papistarum Indicibus lib. prohib. et expurg. sec. 182, pp. 196, 197. Lips. 1684, 4to.

with the titles, epistles, prefaces, tables, or commendatory verses, shall be lawfully licensed, either by the archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of London, for the time being, or by some of their chaplains, or by the chancellors, or vice-chancellors of either of the two universities, upon pain of losing the exercise of his art, and being proceeded against in the *star-chamber*, or the *high-commission court* respectively; that no person or persons do hereafter reprint, or cause to be reprinted, any book or books whatsoever, though formerly printed with license, without being reviewed, and a new license obtained for the reprinting thereof; that every merchant, bookseller, or other person, who shall import any printed books from beyond the seas, shall present a true catalogue of them to the said archbishop or bishop for the time being, before they be delivered or exposed to sale, upon pain of suffering such punishment as by either of the said two courts respectively shall be thought fit; that none of the said merchants, booksellers, or others, shall, upon pain of the like punishment, deliver any of the books so imported, till the chaplains of the said archbishop or bishop, for the time being, or some other learned man by them appointed, together with the master and wardens of the *Company of Stationers*, or one of them, shall take a view of the same, with power to seize on all such books which they find to be schismatical and offensive, and bring them to the said archbishop or bishop, or to the *high commission* office; and finally, that no merchant, bookseller, &c. shall print, or cause to be printed beyond the seas, any book or books, which either totally, or for the greatest part, were written in the English tongue, whether the said books have been here formerly printed, or not; nor shall willingly nor knowingly import any such books into this kingdom, upon pain of being proceeded against in either of the said two courts respectively, as before is said."[33]

(33) Heylyn's Cyprianus Anglicus, pt. ii. lib. iv. p. 341. Lond. 1671, fol.

In many instances these prohibitory mandates only served to increase the inquiry after the works that had been forbidden, and to give publicity to the very volumes intended to be suppressed: it was thus that a bookseller of Paris, by giving out that the *Colloquies* of Erasmus were prohibited, sold above twenty-four thousand of one impression![34]

(34) Jortin's Life of Erasmus, I. p. 274. Lond. 1808, 8vo.

CHAPTER II.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY CONTINUED.

Promotion of Literature by Pope Nicholas V. Janotus Manetto. Italian Version. N. de Malermi. D. N. Mirabellius. Capture of Constantinople. Spanish Versions. Vincent Ferrer. Bonifacio Ferrer. Councils and Inquisition. Expulsion of Moors and Jews from Spain. Paul of Burgos. Jacobus Perez. French Version. Gospel of Nicodemus. State of Literature. Bohemian, Saxon, German, Dutch, and Polish Bibles. Mammotrectus. Biblical Scholars. Mattheo Corvini, king of Hungary. Celebrated Jews.

RESUMING the occurrences of the *Fifteenth Century*, we remark, with peculiar satisfaction, the literary exertions of Pope Nicholas V. and those of his secretary, Janotus Manetto, who, at a period when literature was emerging from under the cloud by which it had been obscured for ages, spared neither labour nor expense to promote its rising interests among their countrymen.

THOMAS DA SARZANA, or, as he is sometimes called, TOMASO CALANDRINO, was the son of a poor physician of Sarzana, a town of Italy, in the Ligurian Republic. His industry and learning were so extraordinary, that whilst he ranked only in the lower order of the clergy, he was chosen by the celebrated Cosmo de Medici, to assist him in the arrangement of the library of St. Marco, at Florence. By rapid degrees, he rose from his humble situation to the highest preferment in the ecclesiastical state, and succeeded to the pontifical chair in 1447, when he assumed the name of Nicholas V. During the eight years that he enjoyed the supreme dignity in the church, he

acquired a high reputation, not by enlarging his territory or enriching his dependants, but by providing the most efficacious means for the extirpation of ignorance, and the acquirement of knowledge. When the bigoted Spaniards had published laws, in 1449, excluding all Jewish and heathen converts, and their posterity, from all offices of rank and emolument; and when the dean of the cathedral of Toledo had publicly defended the intolerant edicts, Nicholas, with enlightened liberality, issued a bull against the decree, excommunicating all those who offered to exclude the converted Jews and heathens from political or ecclesiastical offices, from the priesthood and government. And when he conceived the first bull to be neglected, issued a second to maintain the generous policy which he had adopted. He was equally decisive in promoting the general diffusion of science. No expense was spared in the purchase of books; and where the originals could not be procured, copies were directed to be made. His transcribers were every where employed; and the most learned men were engaged in translating into Latin, the most valuable and useful of the Greek Fathers, and ecclesiastical writers, as well as the most elegant and important classical authors. He caused the Sacred Scriptures to be transcribed, and richly ornamented with gold and silver. He also offered a reward of five thousand ducats for the discovery of a copy of the Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel; which, though fruitless as to its first object, probably occasioned the translation of the Gospel into that language. The Vatican, or pontifical library, which had been nearly dispersed by the frequent change of its possessors, and its removal from Rome to Avignon, and from Avignon to Rome, according as the popes fixed their residence at one or other of those cities, he enriched with 5000 MS. volumes, procured at immense expense. Nicholas also established public rewards at Rome, for composition in

the learned languages, appointed professors in humanity, and became the liberal patron of learning and learned men. He allowed Francis Philelphus a stipend, for translating Homer into Latin; and it was by means of his munificent support, that Cyriac of Anconia, who may be considered as the first antiquary in Europe, was enabled to introduce a taste for gems, medals, inscriptions, and other curious remains of classical antiquity, which he collected with indefatigable labour in various parts of Italy and Greece. Whilst this mild and munificent patron of letters was thus sedulously employed, and marking with satisfaction the progress of his labours, the news which astounded Europe arrived, that the capital of the Grecian empire was in the hands of the Turks! The melancholy event is said to have preyed upon the gentle spirit of Nicholas, and helped to terminate his days in the spring of the year 1455."[1]

JANOTUS MANETTO, or, more properly, GIANOZZO MANETTI, was by birth a Florentine. He was originally designed for a commercial life; but the strong and early bias of his mind led him to devote himself to literary pursuits, and particularly to direct his attention to theology. "This study," he said, "as best adapted to the condition of man, should end only with life; and he reposed in the contemplation of the divine nature, and the moral truths of religion! Augustin was here his favourite author, some of whose books, his memory was sufficiently retentive to repeat."

To his classical acquirements in the Latin, he added an intimate acquaintance with the Greek and Hebrew languages, and with science in general. To render the language of the Sacred Records more familiar, he took a Jew into his house, and afterwards engaged another mas-

(1) Berington's Literary Hist. of the Middle Ages, B. vi. p. 476. Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de Medici, I. ch. i. pp. 56, 57. Lond. 8vo. Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, B. vii, ch. xxi. p. 691.

ter of the same nation, with whom he read the Holy Scriptures in the original, and some ponderous commentators, for five hours each day. Nor did this suffice; for we subsequently find him covenanting with two Greeks, and a Hebrew, to live with him, on condition that each should converse with him in his own tongue.

His exalted moral qualities, united to his extensive learning, raised him to the highest offices, and he was employed in several embassies to foreign princes. But his excellencies could not prevent him from becoming an object of envy; and after being subjected to heavy pecuniary fines, he quitted Florence, and resided at Rome, where he became secretary to Pope Nicholas V. who justly appreciated his worth, and honoured him with his confidence and esteem. The three last years of his life were spent at the court of Alphonsus, king of Naples, where he was principally engaged in writing, and so completely gained the friendship of Alphonsus, that he was heard to say, that, "were he reduced to a single loaf, he would divide it with Manetti." He died at Naples, A. D. 1459.[2]

His works comprise a variety of subjects, moral, historical, biographical, and oratorical, beside versions from the Hebrew and Greek. From the Hebrew he translated the PSALMS into Latin; and the NEW TESTAMENT from the Greek.[3]

About the same time an ITALIAN version of the whole Bible was made from the Vulgate, by NICOLAS DE MALERMI, or MALHERBI, a Benedictine monk of Venice, of the order of Camaldoli, abbot of St. Michael de Lemo. In his preface he informs us, "that the reason of his undertaking his translation was the very great incorrectness of those translations which were already in the hands of the people, and in which some things were introduced,

(2) Berington, *ut sup.* pp. 486—488.

(3) Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. ii. vol. III. cap. iii. sec. 1. p. 436; and sec. 2. p. 568.

that were not to be found in the text of the Scriptures;" by which, he probably refers to translations made from the French version of the work of Peter Comestor. He also says, "that the mutilations and additions of those translations were such, that it became much easier to execute a new translation, than to correct the old ones; and that he therefore suspended every other employment to devote himself to so important a work, which, however, he accomplished in about *eight months!*" If this were actually the case, he must have engaged the assistance of others, or his translation have been a very hasty and incompetent one; but F. Simon thinks, that after all his professions, he merely corrected the preceding versions. He, however, informs us, that "his intention was to be serviceable to those who had not applied themselves to learning in their youth;" adding that "the Holy Scriptures instruct the learned in true wisdom, and the ignorant in true religion." The translation is accompanied by an Epistle to Dr. Laurentius, a professor of theology, in which he requests him to revise and correct his work, as he distrusted his own ability, and feared lest in some difficult places he should have mistaken the sense of the inspired writers. The professor's reply is subjoined, containing an eulogium on the elegance of the translation. The translator has also inserted, in *Italian*, all the *Prefaces* which are found prefixed to most of the Latin MSS. of Jerom's Bible.[4]

An edition of this Bible was printed at Venice, by V. de Spira, in 1471, in 2 vols. fol. and before the close of the fifteenth century, had been several times reprinted at Venice. There was also an edition of the *Italian* Bible printed at Rome, in 1471, in fol. which has by some been supposed to be a different translation from the former, because it varies from it in some parts of the Old Testa-

(4) Simon's Crit. Hist. of the Versions of the N. T. pt. ii, ch. xl. pp. 336—338.

ment; whilst others suppose the variations to be nothing more than corrections of Malermi's version.[5]

F. Simon affirms, that at this time, translations of the EPISTLES and GOSPELS, which are read at mass during the course of the whole year, were common in the *Italian* tongue, being executed for the instruction of the people; and supplying the place of the interpreters mentioned by St. Paul in the 1st Epist. to the Corinthians, chap. xiv.[6]

Among the Biblical scholars of this age who flourished in Italy, DOMINICUS NANUS MIRABELLIUS deserves to be noticed, as the author of an HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS, entitled *Monotessaron Evangeliorum*, which he accompanied with a laborious selection from the works of Gentile philosophers, poets, and orators, of passages illustrative of the Gospels. Among the authors quoted are Seneca, Ovid, the Sybilline Oracles, Hermes Trismegistus, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Zeno, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Homer, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Plautus, Juvenal, Persius, Cicero, Claudian, Lucan, Pliny, A. Gellius, Macrobius, Valerius Maximus, &c. The work, which appears never to have been printed, is said, by Sixtus Senensis, to be preserved in the library of the Dominicans, at Genoa. Mirabellius was arch-presbyter of the church of Savona, and flourished about A. D. 1470.[7]

Two anecdotes, related by the biographer of the celebrated Lorenzo de Medici, may serve to throw light upon the literary history of Italy at this period, a subject extensively illustrated by the elegant, but partial biographer of the Medici, in his lives of Lorenzo and Leo X. The first relates to a MS. copy of Livy, sent by Cosmo de Medici to Alfonso, or Alphonsus, king

(5) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. p. 354. Paris, 1723, fol. Walchii Biblioth. Theolog. IV. cap. viii. p. 127.
(6) Simon's Crit. Hist. of Versions of N. T. pt. ii. ch. ii. p. 14.
(7) Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. lib. iv. p. 279.

of Naples. For such was the high value set upon it by the king, that although he had previously been at variance with Cosmo, the present conciliated the breach between them; and notwithstanding an intimation from his physician, that the book was probably poisoned, he disregarded their suspicions, and began with pleasure the perusal of the work. The other refers to a singular visitor at Florence, in 1474. This was Christian, or Christiern, king of Denmark and Sweden, who was journeying for the purpose, as was alleged, of discharging a vow. Having surveyed the city, and paid a ceremonial visit to the magistrates, who received their royal visitor with great splendour, he requested to be favoured with a sight of the valuable copy of the *Greek Evangelists*, which had been obtained some years before from Constantinople; and of the *Pandects of Justinian*, brought from Amalfi to Pisa, and thence to Florence. His laudable curiosity was readily gratified, and he expressed his satisfaction by declaring, "that these were the real treasures of princes."[8] It is also worthy of note, that whilst the Hebrew tongue was cultivated, and several editions of the *Hebrew Bible* were printed in Italy, the learned Reuchlin complained, that not a single printed copy of the Hebrew Scriptures had passed the Alps, owing to the war waged by the Emperor Maximilian.[9]

The taking of Constantinople, and conquest of the Eastern empire, by the Turks, with its fatal effect on Pope Nicholas V. has been already cursorily noticed; but this event, so tragical to the inhabitants of the imperial city, proved ultimately so beneficial to the interests of literature, in the west, by the retreat of the learned Greeks into Italy, that it claims our particular regard. Cardinal Isidore, who had been constituted the titular

(8) Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de Medici, I. ch. i. p. 34; and ch. iii. p. 158. Lond. 1796, 4to.

(9) Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. p. ii. lib. iii. p. 449.

patriarch of Constantinople, by Nicholas V. and was a witness of the horrible scene which ensued at the capture of the city, has left a most pathetic description of the circumstances of it, in a Latin epistle, which may be found in the *Appendix* to the 3rd vol. of *Dr. E. D. Clarke's Travels*, p. 383. By it we are informed, that the Turks, under Mohammed II. on entering the city, spared neither rank, nor age, nor sex; the aged men and women were slain, the virgins were violated even in the sanctuary itself; the nobles were degraded into slaves; the temples of God were polluted, the images of the Saviour, of the Virgin Mary, and of the saints, were treated with contumely, and dashed to pieces; "the HOLY GOSPELS, the missals, and the rest of the books belonging to the churches, were torn to pieces, defiled, and burnt;" the vestments, and other ornaments of the priests, were rent, or appropriated for the clothing and ornamenting of the victors; the sacred vessels were melted down, or turned to profane uses; in a word, the conquerors, urged by cruelty, lust, revenge, and a love of booty, spared neither place, nor person.[10] Trithemius *(in Chron. Sponheim.* Tom. II. App. p. 368,) adds, that the Turkish emperor being resolved, if possible, to extirpate Christianity from his newly acquired dominions, commanded all the copies of the *Scriptures*, and of the works of the orthodox Fathers, that could be found, to be put into perforated vessels, and thrown into the sea.[11]

During the general carnage and confusion that ensued on the entrance of the Turks into Constantinople, and whilst the cruel conquerors were employed in plundering the city, many of the inhabitants, among whom were several men of various and extensive learning, escaped to the vessels in the harbour, and arrived safe in Italy, where they promoted the study of the Greek tongue, and gave increas-

(10) Dr. E. D. Clarke's Travels, pt. ii. sec. 1. vol. III. ch. i. p. 2; and Appendix, p. 383.

(11) Franci Disquisitio de Papist. Indicibus, sec. 180, p. 195.

ed energy to those scientific and literary pursuits, which had already begun to engage the attention of many intelligent and literary characters in the Western empire; and which were so successfully aided by the recent invention of printing. The learned Humphrey Hody wrote an account of the chief of these illustrious exiles, which was published after his death by Dr. Jebb, and entitled *Dissertationes de græcis illustribus linguæ græce litterarumque humanarum instauratoribus.* Lond. 1742, 8vo.

Constantinople was captured, and the Emperor Constantine slain, on the 29th of May, in the year 1453. "On the day of the capture, the Sultan entered the city in triumph; viewed its still remaining monuments; and proceeded to establish the forms of a new government, and the rites of the Moslem worship."[12]

From recording the fall of Byzantium, and the asylum afforded in Italy to the learned Greeks who fled from the fury of the Mohammedan conquerors, we proceed to inquire into the state of Biblical literature in SPAIN.

Early in this century, a translation was made of the Scriptures into the SPANISH, in the dialect of Valencia. This version, which received the permission of the inquisitors, was made by BONIFACE FERRER, the brother of St. VINCENT, by whom, probably, he was assisted. An edition of it was printed at Valencia, in 1478, a fragment of which is still preserved in the Carthusian monastery of Portaceli.[13] The best account of this version is given by Santander, who observes, "This version of the Bible, in the Limousin or Valencian tongue, is so rare, that no complete copy of it is known to exist. The only certain fragment that we have of this version, consists in the four last leaves, which were discovered in 1645, among the archives of the church of Valencia, and which have the subscription. Father John Bapt. Civera, a monk of

(12) Berington's Lit. Hist. of the Middle Ages, Append. I. p. 638.
(13) Thomson and Orme's Historical Sketch, &c. p. 40.

the Chartreuse of Portaceli, having obtained these four leaves, he inserted them in his work, intituled *Varones illustres del Monasterio de Porta-Cœli.* The following is the subscription:

'Acaba la biblia molt vera e catholica, treta de una 'biblia del noble mossen berenguer vives de boil 'cavaller: la qual fon arromanzada en lo monestir de 'portaceli de lengua latina en la nostra valenciana per 'lo molt reverend micer bonifaci ferrer doctor en cas- 'çun. dret e en facultad de sacra theologia: e don de 'tota la cartoxa: germa del benaventurat sanct vicent 'ferrer del orde de predicadors: en la qual translacio 'foren altres singulars homens de sciencia. E ara 'derrerament aquesta es stada diligentment corregida 'vista e regoneguda per lo reverend mestre jaume 'borrell mestre en sacra theologia del ordre et predi- 'cadors: e inquisidor en regne de valencia. Es stada 'empremptada en la ciutat de valencia a despeses del 'magnifichen philip vizlant mercader de la vila de jsne 'de alta Alemanya: per mestre Alfonso Fernandez de 'Cordova del regne de castella, e per mestre lambert 'palomar alamany mestre en arts: començada en lo 'mes de febrer del any mil quatrecens setanta set: e 'acabada lomes de Març del any mil CCCCLXXVIII."[14]

From this subscription we learn, that the translation was made from the Latin, by *Boniface Ferrer,* assisted by other learned men, in the monastery of Portaceli, and in the Valencian dialect; that it was corrected and revised by *John Borrell,* a Dominican, and inquisitor; that it was printed at the expense of *Philip Vizlant,* a merchant, of Jesi, in the March of Ancona, by *Alfonso Fernandez,* of Cordova, and *Lambert Palmar,* or *Pelmart,* a German; and that the printing of it was begun in February, 1477, and finished in March, 1478.

(14) Santander, Dictionnaire Bibliographique, pt. ii. pp. 197—199. Bruxelles, 1806, 8vo.

Don Rodriguez de Castro, librarian to the king of Spain, corroborates the preceding account of this rare version, concerning which, the most discordant notices have been given by different bibliographers, in his *Biblioteca Espanola*, vol. I. p. 444, accompanied by an extract from the work itself, taken from the *Apocalypse*, of which a fragment is all that now remains. His words are, "La mas antigua, &c." "The most ancient [Spanish version] is, that of all the books of the Old and New Testament which the Rev. Father Bonifacio Ferrer, (brother of St. Vincent Ferrer,) doctor of sacred theology, and of sacred and civil law, and general of the Carthusians, made in Valencian, and printed in Valencia, in 1478, as is seen in the last page, which is preserved in the Carthusian monastery of Portaceli, in the kingdom of Valencia, from which Dr. Francisco Asensio made a faithful copy, inserted here [in the "Biblioteca Espanola"] verbatim, and which establishes the antiquity of this translation."*

VINCENT FERRER was born at Valencia, in Spain, according to Antonio, in 1352, but according to Butler, in 1357. He was early distinguished for learning and charity; in his eighteenth year he voluntarily embraced the monastic life, and in 1374, entered a convent of the order of St. Dominic, in his native city. In a short time after his profession, he was deputed to read lectures of philosophy; and removing to Barcelona, not only continued his scholastic exercises, but became a zealous preacher of the Word of God. From Barcelona he was sent to Lerida, the most famous university of Catalonia, where he received the degree of Doctor, from Cardinal Peter de Luna, in 1384. At the request of the bishop, clergy, and people of Valencia, he was recalled to

* For this extract and translation, from the "Biblioteca Espanola," printed at the royal printing-office, Madrid, 2 vols. fol. I am obliged to the kindness of the Rev. W. A. Thomson, one of the authors of the "Historical Sketch of the Translation and Circulation of the Scriptures."

his own country, and pursued his lectures and preaching with extraordinary reputation and success. One of his biographers remarks, "His heart was always fixed on God, and he made his studies, labour, and all his other actions, a continued prayer." The advice he gives to students, in his *Treatise on a Spiritual Life*, is agreeable to his own practice, and is well worthy of attention: "Do you desire to study to advantage? Let devotion accompany all your studies. Consult God more than your books, and ask him with humility, to make you understand what you read. Study fatigues and drains the mind and heart. Go, from time to time, to refresh them at the feet of Jesus. Interrupt your application by short, but fervent and ejaculatory prayers. Never begin nor end your study, but by prayer. Science is a gift of the Father of Lights; therefore, do not consider it merely as the work of your own mind or industry."

Vincent had now resided six years at Valencia, assiduously pursuing his pious labours, when Cardinal Peter de Luna, being appointed legate of Clement VII. to Charles VI. king of France, obliged him to accompany him. In 1394, on the death of Clement, the Cardinal was chosen pope, by the French and Spaniards, and took the name of Benedict XIII. Vincent was then commanded to repair to Avignon, where he was raised to the dignity of master of the sacred palace; but, at his own earnest and frequently repeated request, was appointed apostolical missionary, and entered upon that office before the end of the year 1398, and for about twenty years, laboured with indefatigable zeal, in various parts of Europe. He visited Spain, France, the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy. Henry IV. invited him to England, sent one of his ships to fetch him from the coast of France, and received him with the greatest honours. After preaching in the chief towns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, he returned, and pursued his missionary labours, in the dif-

ferent parts of France, Italy, and Spain. The ordinary subjects of his sermons, which were delivered with unusual energy, were sin, death, judgment, hell, and eternity. Numerous Jews and Mohammedans are said to have been converted by his ministry; and multitudes of immoral characters to have been reclaimed. The two last years of his life were spent in Brittany and Normandy, whither he had gone at the desire of Henry V. He died in the city of Vannes, in 1419, at the age of sixty-two; or according to others, at sixty-seven. He was canonized, by Pope Calixtus III. in 1455.[15]

In the list of his writings, Nic. Antonio mentions the following Biblical work: "BIBLIA, seu PROMPTUARIUM, sc. locorum sacræ Scripturæ singulis diebus, sive de tempore, sive de sanctis usurpandorum." At the beginning of the copy to which Antonio refers, a note is prefixed, intimating that it had been bequeathed as a legacy, by the author: "Hanc Bibliam inspirante Domino mihi Fr. Antonio de aurea mihi reliquit beatissimus Fr. Vincentius."[16] The chief of his other works are, *A Treatise on a Spiritual Life; Commentary, or Sermons, on the Lord's Prayer*, printed at Lyons, 1523, 4to. and again 1573, 8vo.; and *Epistles*.[17]

BONIFACIO, or BONIFACE FERRER, was the brother of Vincent. Intending to engage in secular concerns, he married; but, after the death of his wife, was persuaded, by his brother, to enter the Carthusian monastery of Portaceli, near Valencia. His industry and attention to every part of the severe discipline of his order, gained him universal approbation, so that, in the short period of four years, he became Prior General, an office which he executed with the utmost fidelity. But having been elected

(15) Butler's Lives of the Saints, V. p. 44.
Antonii Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus, II. p. 136. Romæ, 1696, fol.
(16) Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Vet. II. p. 137.
(17) Butler, *ubi sup.*
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, II, p. 723. edit. Paris, 1723.

during the schism in the papacy, and the council of Pisa, held in 1409, having deposed the schismatical popes, and chosen Cardinal Peter Philargi, pope, who styled himself Alexander V. he requested, and obtained permission to surrender up his dignity; and Stephen de Sævis succeeded to the office. Butler, (*Lives of the Saints*, vol. IV.) however, says, he was general of the Carthusians at the time of his death.

In the year 1412, the states of Arragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, being divided about a successor to the crown of Arragon, they agreed to choose nine commissaries, three for each kingdom; when Boniface, his brother Vincent, and Don Peter Bertrand, were chosen for the kingdom of Valencia. They met at the castle of Caspé, in Arragon. Ferdinand of Castile was unanimously declared to be the lawful heir; and Vincent Ferrer, haranguing the foreign ambassadors and people present, the decision was received with acclamation. Boniface died April 29th, 1419.[18]

The exact period when Boniface's translation of the Bible was made, cannot perhaps be ascertained, but as Vincent was recalled to Valencia by King John II. in 1410, by whose command the version is by some said to have been made, and as he continued there about two years, it was probably commenced, if not completed, at that time.

About the year 1450, Alphonsus V. king of Arragon, is supposed to have translated the PROVERBS OF SOLOMON, into his native tongue. He is also said to have read the whole Bible *fourteen* times, with glosses and commentaries; and to have become so expert in the Scriptures, as not only to relate the substance of them, but to repeat many parts of them correctly, from memory.[19]

It is, nevertheless, to be deplored, that the study of

(18) Antonii Biblioth. Hisp. Vet. II. lib. x. cap. iii. p. 140. Butler, V. *ubi sup.*

(19) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. p. 172.

the Scriptures was far from being general; and that the most profound ignorance reigned amongst the major part, even of the clergy. Few of them, comparatively, were acquainted with the *Latin*, though constantly used in the offices of the church; whilst feasting, and debauchery, are declared to have been their ordinary occupations. This occasioned the councils of Madrid and Arenda, in 1473; and various decrees were passed in them, designed to remedy the disorders and ignorance of the ecclesiastics of all ranks. The bishops were forbidden to ordain or promote those who were ignorant of *Latin;* the Scriptures were ordered to be daily read at the tables of the prelates themselves; the clergy, in general, were forbidden to wear gay apparel, to be clothed in silk, to walk in white sandals, or red or green buskins, or to put on mourning; they were also commanded not to play at dice, or fight duels; and those who died of the wounds received in a duel, were ordered to be deprived of ecclesiastical burial. Other canons were framed against simony, clandestine marriages, ecclesiastical concubinage, dramatic exhibitions in churches, &c.[20]

But these injunctions were not succeeded by the reformation so necessary to the religious welfare of the church; for in 1499, Pope Alexander VI. found it requisite to send an epistle to the Spanish bishops, respecting the ignorance of the clergy; urging them to adopt measures for the promotion of study and discipline among them.[21]

Some attempts, however, were made, notwithstanding the almost universal depravity and ignorance which prevailed, to communicate a knowledge of the Sacred Writings, to those who were acquainted only with their mother tongue. Le Long mentions a version of the Bible,

(20) D' Aguirre, Collectio Maxima Concil. Hisp. III. pp. 672—677. Romæ, 1693—94 fol.
Dictionnaire Portatif des Conciles, pp. 39. 302. 479.
(21) D' Aguirre, *ut sup.* III. p. 689.

in the dialect of *Catalonia*, written in the year 1407, of which an imperfect copy was preserved in the Colbertine Library; he also notices an edition of the PSALTER, in the dialect of *Castile*, printed, as he supposed, before A. D. 1500.[22] Fred. Furius, who wrote a *Treatise on the Sacred Scriptures*, printed in 1556, says, that at the close of the fifteenth century, the Scriptures had not only been translated into his native dialect of Valencia, but into almost all the other dialects of Spain.[23] These translations were prevented from being circulated, by the establishment and influence of the inquisition, and the edict of Ferdinand and Isabella, (called also Elizabeth,) which enacted, that "No one should translate the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, or have them in their possession, under pain of the severest punishment."[24] Fred. Furius adds, that "this prohibition extended only to those who were originally Jews, and not to others." He further remarks, that the *Lessons* from the GOSPELS, read in the churches, during the whole year, had been faithfully and elegantly translated, and permitted to be printed; and that he had seen and read the EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL, translated into *Spanish* verse, in the dialects of both *Castile* and *Valencia*.[25] Conrad Gesner, another author who flourished in the sixteenth century, notices these vernacular versions, but remarks, that, in his day, nearly all the copies of them had been burnt.[26] In January, 1492, the Spaniards took Granada, and extinguished the empire of the Moors in Spain, where they had been settled more than 700 years. Ferdinand de Talavéra, a man of great learning, and exemplary piety, was nominated archbishop of Granada. His disposition was mild, pa-

(22) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. pp. 362. 369. edit. 1723.
(23) Ibid. I. p. 362.
(24) Le Long, *ut sup.* p. 361.
Usserii Hist. Dogmat. p. 175.
(25) Simon's Crit. Hist. of the Versions of the N. T. pt. ii. ch. ii. p. 18; and ch. xli. p. 344. Usserius, *ut sup.*
(26) Le Long, I. p. 362.

tient, and charitable, without ambition, and without jealousy. He, therefore, consented, that the archbishop of Toledo, the celebrated Ximenes, should possess equal authority with himself, in his diocese. The two archbishops concerted measures for the conversion of the Mohammedans, thus placed under their care; and mutually agreed, that the safest, and most successful plan would, be, to gain over the Alfaquis, or priests and doctors, of that sect. With this design, they convened an assembly of them in the palace, addressed them familiarly, and after having exhorted them to renounce their errors and receive baptism, presented some of them with pieces of silk, others with scarlet caps, which were held by them in great estimation; and sent them away, well pleased with the condescension of the prelates, and the presents they had received. By these means many of the priests were led to profess Christianity, and to persuade the people to a similar profession; and so great was the success of these measures, that on the 18th. of December, 1499, four thousand Moors received baptism. The refractory Moors, Ximenes endeavoured to conquer, sometimes by inquisitorial treatment, sometimes by gentler and milder usage. Having, at length, subdued the more intractable of his opponents, particularly Zegri, a noble and valiant Moor, and conciliated the Mohammedan doctors, he ordered all the copies of the Koran, and every book that contained its doctrines, to be brought to him, and consigned 5000 volumes publicly to the flames. Neither illuminations, nor rich bindings, nor other ornaments of gold and silver, were suffered as a plea for their preservation. The only works exempted from the common flame were some treatises on medicine, for which the Moors had been famous, and which were transmitted to the library of the college of Alcala.[27]

(27) Flechier, Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes, I. liv. i. pp. 136—143. Amsterdam, 1693, 12mo.

The Moors having professed Christianity, it became a subject of discussion between the archbishops, which was the best method of instructing their new converts in the religion they had embraced. The dispositions of these prelates discovered itself in the difference of their views. Ferdinand de Talavéra, in order to direct their attention to the divine offices, had ordered the daily LESSONS of the Old and New Testament to be recited in the vulgar tongue; and permitted the *Books of the Mass*, and especially the EPISTLES and GOSPELS, to be translated into *Arabic*, and printed. Ximenes entirely disapproved of this procedure, and urged the impropriety of placing the Sacred Oracles in the hands of these half converts, affirming that weak minds always revered most what was concealed and mysterious; and contending that, since the Old and New Testaments contained many passages that demanded much intelligence and attention to understand them, it was best to leave them in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, the three languages consecrated by the inscription placed over the head of the dying Saviour. But whilst he strenuously contended against the Scriptures being translated into the vulgar tongue, he allowed the propriety of distributing, in the language commonly spoken, catechisms, prayers, and edifying narratives, and other books of religious instruction. The archbishop of Granada reluctantly submitted to the unyielding temper of Ximenes, and the Book of God was withheld from the people.[28]

The expulsion of the Jews speedily followed the conquest of the Moors; for in March of the same year, (1492) Ferdinand and Isabella banished the Jews out of Spain; by which eight hundred thousand persons were forced to quit the kingdom, and seek asylums in more favoured regions. In the number of those who were exiled, were several eminent Rabbis, particularly R. ISAAC ABRABANEL,

(28) Flechier, Hist. du Card. Ximenes, I. liv. i. pp. 154, 155.

the author of valuable *Commentaries* on several parts of the Old Testament, and other esteemed works; R. MEIR, author of a *Commentary upon Job*; and R. ABRAHAM, the compiler of the chronological work called *Juchassin*.[29]

Through the instructions of Vincent Ferrer, the terrors of the inquisition, and the dread of poverty and exile, many Spanish Jews were induced to make profession of the Catholic religion, some few of them sincerely, but most of them deceptively. Among the sincere converts from Judaism, during this century, in Spain, SOLOMON DE LEVI holds the chief place. He was a native of Burgos, and embraced Christianity from reading the works of Thomas Aquinas, or Aquino. At his baptism he took the name of PAULUS DE SANCTA MARIA, or PAUL of BURGOS. After the death of his wife, he embraced the ecclesiastical state, and by his merits obtained places of trust and honour. He was preceptor to John II. king of Castile; and was successively archdeacon of Trevigno, bishop of Carthagena, and then of Burgos, where he died August 29th, 1445, aged 82. Some authors relate that he was patriarch of Aquileia. He wrote, 1. *Scrutinium Scripturarum*, printed at Mantua, 1474, in fol.; Mentz, 1478; Paris, 1520; Burgos, 1591. 2. *Additiones ad Postillam Magistri Nicolai de Lyra super Biblias*; generally printed with the Postils of De Lyra. In this work the author freely censures and corrects the Notes of De Lyra, particularly where he differs from Aquinas, whose defence Paul universally undertakes. In his emendations of De Lyra, he is often successful in what relates to philosophy and Hebrew antiquities; but in his criticisms of the Greek, he more frequently fails. He is also considered as paying too implicit deference to the Fathers, and the scholastic writers. 3. *Quæstiones XII. de Nomine Tetragrammato*; published with notes, by J. Drusius, Franeker, 1604, 8vo.

His three sons were baptized at the same time with

(29) Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, B. vii. ch. xxi. pp. 692, 693.

him, when he became a Christian convert; and all distinguished themselves by their merit. The eldest, ALPHONSO, who succeeded his father as bishop of Burgos, wrote an *Abridgment of Spanish History;* the second, GONSALVO, became bishop of Placentia; and the third, ALVAREZ, who married into an illustrious family, published an *History of John II. king of Castile.*[30]

Another learned Spaniard of this period, was JACOBUS PEREZ, bishop of Christopolitanus. He was a native of Valencia; and became an hermit of the order of Augustin. He died in 1491. He was the author of various works, particularly of a *Commentary on the Psalms;* and a *Treatise against the Jews,* printed at Lyons, 1512. He is chiefly noted for his singular opinions respecting the invention of the *Hebrew Vowel Points,* and the compilation of the *Talmud.* He says, "That the Rabbis perceiving that, after the conversion of Constantine the Great, multitudes of both Gentiles and Jews embraced Christianity, and that their influence and revenues were consequently lessened, they convened a general meeting at Cairo, in Egypt; where they, with as much secrecy as possible, falsified and corrupted the Scriptures; invented five or seven points to serve instead of vowels; and forged the Talmud. *(Prolog. in Psalmos Tract.* 6.)[31]

It may also be deemed interesting to observe, that *Printing* was introduced into Spain at an early period after its invention. Valencia is conjectured to be the city where printing was first exercised in that kingdom; and where a press was established in 1474. The earliest work printed there, of which the date has been ascertained, was *Obres, o Trobes les quales tracten de las hors de la Sacra-*

(30) Lempriere's Universal Biography. Lond. 1808, 4to.
Cavei Hist. Litt. sæc. xv. p. 92. Append.
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, edit. Masch. pt. ii. vol. III. cap. ii. sec. 3, p. 363.

(31) Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. lib. iii. pt. ii. p. 442.
Cavei Hist. Litt. sæc. xv. p. 149. Append.

tissima Verge Maria, &c. 1478, 4to. The number of books printed in Spain, during the fifteenth century, was 310. These appeared chiefly at Barcelona, Burgos, Salamanca, Saragossa, Seville, Toledo, and Valencia; and were principally executed by Germans.[32]

If from Spain we turn to FRANCE, we find but little that claims our attention, relative to Biblical literature. The establishment of the newly invented art of printing in several cities of France, has been noticed already; and the editions of the Scriptures which were printed, were chiefly those of Comestor, or Guiars des Moulins. The following are the principal ones:

A *French* version of the OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT, printed at Lyons, without date, but supposed, with considerable probability, to have been published in 1477. The editors were *Julian Macho*, and *Peter Farget*. Santander says, this was the *first* French version; but Le Long speaks of it merely as a revised edition of the translation of Guiars des Moulins. The following is Santander's bibliographical account of this and another rare edition of the Scriptures. "The OLD TESTAMENT, translated into French. *Lyons, printed by Barth. Buyer, (about the year 1477) in fol.*"

"The exact conformity of the characters of this most rare edition, with those employed by Barth. Buyer, in the impression of the *New Testament*, noticed in the following article, proves, I think, that they were printed at the same press; and that Julian Macho, and Peter Farget, were also the editors and correctors."

"The work is printed in two columns, in Gothic letters, and without signatures. Five leaves, which contain the table of rubrics, with this title, *Cy commencent les rubriches de ce present livre*, precede the text, at the end of which, on the *reverse* of the last leaf, are these words:

(32) Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, I. p. 475. Clarke's Bibliographical Miscellany, II. p. 127.

"Cy finit ce present livre." A copy was sold at the sale of Gaignat, in 1769, for 80 livres, 1 sol; and at the sale of La Valliere, in 1783, for 99 livres, 19 sols."

"The NEW TESTAMENT revised and corrected by Julian Macho and Peter Farget. *Lyons, Bartholomew Buyer,* without date (about the year 1477,) *in fol.*"

"An exceedingly rare edition, and the first translation of the New Testament into French. It is printed in the same Gothic characters as the Old Testament mentioned in the preceding article, and which it was probably designed to accompany." The pages of this volume are in two columns, without figures or signatures. It begins with a table which occupies 20 leaves, which ends thus: "Cy finist la table du nouueau testament ensemble la declaration diceluy faicte et compassée p uenerable persõne frere iulliã docteur en theologie de l' ordre saint Augustĩ demourant au couuẽt de lyõ sus le rosne.

loue soit dieu Amen."

"Then follows the text, at the end of which, on the *recto* of the last leaf, is this subscription: 'Cy finist l'apocalypse et semblablement le nouueau ueu et corrige p uenerables persõnes freres iullien macho et pierre farget docteurs en theologie de l'ordre des Augustins de lyõ sus le rosne Imprime en la dicte uille de lyon par Bartholomieu Buyer citoien du dit lion."

"There is also another impression of this book, by the same printer, in the same characters, with the same number of leaves, and the same subscription, differing only in being printed in long lines, and the sheets having signatures; it is, however, considered as being equally ancient, and is equally esteemed."

"At Gaignat's sale, the former edition sold for 90 livres, and that with long lines for 211 livres: and at La Valliere's, the former edition sold for 99 livres, 19 sols; the edition with long lines for 90 livres."

JULIAN MACHO was an Augustine monk, and Doctor

in Divinity, of the convent of Lyons. Beside the *French New Testament*, noticed above, he was joint editor with John Bathalier, of a French *Supplement to the Golden Legend*, printed at Lyons, by Barth. Buyer, 1477, in fol.

Peter (Pierre) Farget, sometimes erroneously called Falget, Ferget, and Sarget, was also a monk of the order of Augustin, and Doctor in Divinity, residing in the convent of the order, at Lyons. Beside the revision of the New Testament, Farget published, in 1482, a French translation of the *Speculum Humanæ Vitæ*, under the title of *Miroir de la vie humaine;* printed at Strasburg, with Gothic characters, in small folio. He also translated out of Latin into French, a work entitled, "*The Consolation of poor sinners*," in the form of a dialogue, between Belial and Jesus Christ; beside other works of minor importance.[33]

Le Long mentions an edition also in quarto, in the Gothic type, executed at Paris, about the year 1478, which he conjectures to have been corrected from the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor, by William le Menand; and either this, or the one which will be subsequently noticed, is, probably, the translation of which John Lambert speaks, in his answer to the bishop's articles, A. D. 1538. Lambert's words are; "You" (the bishops) "ask, whether I believe that the heads, or rulers, by necessity of salvation, are bound to give unto the people Holy Scripture, in their mother-language? I say, that I think they are bound to see that the people may truly know Holy Scripture, and I do not know how that may be done so well, as by giving it to them truly translated in the mother tongue, that they may have it by them at all times, to pass the time godly, whensoever they have leisure thereto; like as they have in *France*, under the French king's privilege, and also the privilege of the emperor,

(33) Santander, Dict. Bibliographique, 2de partie, pp. 197—199. De Juvigny, Bibliotheques Françoises, II. pp. 277, 278.

and so do I know they have had it these *fifty-four* years in France, at the least, and it was translated at the request of a king, called, I trow, Louis, as appeareth by the privilege put in the beginning of the book." The king here mentioned was Louis XI.[34]

Another *French* version of the *Bible* has been attributed to JEAN DE RELY, made by order of Charles VIII. M. de la Monnoye says, "This pretended translation of Jean de Rely, is nothing more than that which was made by Guiars des Moulins, in 1294, from the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor, and which Jean de Rely, who was canon of Notre-Dame, and was made bishop of Angers in 1491, revised by order of Charles VIII. It was printed in 1495, and again in 1538, by Antoine Bonnemere." To this the editor of the *Bibliotheques Françoises* subjoins as a correction of the above: "The oldest edition of the French translation, by Jean de Rely, appears to be that cited in the *Catalogue of the printed Books in the King's Library*, Tom. I. No. 156. 'La Bible Historiale, où sont les Histoires Scholastiques, ou les Livres Hystoriaulx de la Bible, translatés de Latin en François, en la maniere que les maîtres ont traduit ez Histoires Scholastiques de Pierre le Mangeur, par Guyart des Moulins, revue par Jean de Rely, Pretre et Chanoine de S. Pierre d' Aire, de l' Archevêché de Tresves, par le commandement de Charles VIII. roi de France; Paris, pour Antoine Verard, in fol. 2 vols. vers l' an 1487.' It was afterwards reprinted in 4to. in 1515, and 1535; and again in fol. in 1538. According to the same catalogue, in the edition of 1538, the editor, ANTOINE BONNEMERE, says, "that the first edition was printed in 1495, after having been corrected."[35]

(34) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. p. 325.
Foxe's Actes and Monumentes, II. p. 415. Lond. 1641, fol.

(35) De Juvigny, Bibliotheques Françoises, III. Du Verdier. Art: "Bibles." pp. 267—270.

ENGLAND next claims our regard. Wiclif and his followers had detected many of the errors, and exposed many of the superstitious practices, of the church of Rome at this period; but the clergy obstinately refused to abandon either their errors or superstitions, and persecuted, with the most unrelenting cruelty, all who attempted the smallest reformation. "In a word," says an accurate historian, "ignorance, vice, and superstition, seemed to have gained ground,—though the revival of learning, and the reformation of religion, were at no great distance."[36] A singular instance of incompetency in a clergyman is related by Warton, in his *History of English Poetry*. In 1448, Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, on the presentation of Merton Priory, in Surrey, instituted a rector to the parish of Sherfield, in Hampshire. The rector, however, previously took an oath before the bishop, that on account of his insufficiency in letters, and default of knowledge in the superintendence of souls, he would learn Latin for the two following years; and that at the end of the first year he would submit himself to be examined by the bishop, concerning his progress in grammar; and that, if on a second examination he should be found deficient, he would resign the benefice.[37] The introduction of men into the sacred office, through the influence of rank, who were destitute of competent abilities, is further exemplified by an anecdote related of Erasmus: "At this time, (A. D. 1496,) I suppose," says his biographer, "he refused a large pension, and larger promises, from a young illiterate Englishman, who was to be made a bishop, and who wanted to have him for a preceptor. This youth seems to have been James Stanley, son of the earl of Derby, and son-in-law to Margaret, the king's mother, and afterwards made bishop of Ely by her interest. However, it appears that the young gentleman,

(36) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, X. p. 42.
(37) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, II. p. 429, note z.

though ignorant, had a desire to learn something, and to qualify himself, in some measure, for the station in which he was to be placed."[38]

So far were the clergy, in general, from attempting to circulate the Scriptures, or instruct the people in the knowledge of their contents, that except such portions of them as were recited in the offices of the church, there was scarcely a *Latin Testament* in any cathedral church in England, till the time of the learned John Colet, dean of St. Paul's, in London, though the *Latin* was the only authorized language for the Scriptures and service books. Instead of the Gospel of Christ, the spurious GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS was affixed to a pillar in the nave of the church; which Erasmus says, he had himself seen with astonishment in the metropolitan church of Canterbury.[39] It is remarkable that Theodoret, (*Hæret. Fab.* lib. i. cap. xx.) in the *fifth* century, complained of a similar practice existing in his day. Tatian, says he, "composed a gospel which is called *Dia Tessaron* [Of the Four] leaving out the genealogies, and every thing that shews the Lord to have been born of the seed of David according to the flesh: which has been used not only by those of his sect, but also by them who follow the apostolical doctrine; they not perceiving the fraud of the composition, but simply using it as a compendious book. I have also met with above *two hundred* of these books, which were in esteem in our churches: all which I took away, and laid aside in a parcel, and placed in their room the GOSPELS OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS."[40]

The GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS, or *Acts of Pilate*, above mentioned, is a work supposed to have been forged, towards the close of the third century, by Leucius Charinus. It treats chiefly of the *Crucifixion and Resurrection* of our

(38) Jortin's Life of Erasmus, I. p. 5. Lond. 1808, 8vo.
(39) British Biography, I. *Life of Dean Colet*, p. 377.
(40) Lardner's Works, II. p. 138. Lond. 1788, 8vo.

Lord, and of his *Descent into Hell.* It contains many trifling, silly, and ludicrous relations, such as, the standards or colours bowing to Christ, as he passed: Jesus appearing to Joseph of Arimathea, after his resurrection, wiping his face from the dew, kissing him, and commanding him to remain in his own house for forty days; and a supposititious narrative of the events attending Christ's descent into hell, by Lentius and Charinus, two saints raised from the dead, at the resurrection of the Saviour. The following extracts from this impudent forgery, will enable the reader to judge of the kind of instruction afforded by these substitutes for the Gospel of Christ. The relation of Christ's descent into hell, is introduced by Joseph of Arimathea, addressing Annas and Caiphas, who were astonished to hear that Jesus was risen from the dead; and that others were risen with him; "We all," says he, "knew the blessed Simeon, the high-priest, who took Jesus, when an infant, into his arms, in the temple. This same Simeon had two sons of his own, and we were all present at their death and funeral. Go, therefore, and see their tombs, for these are open, and they are risen; and behold, they are in the city of Arimathea, spending their time together, in offices of devotion. Some, indeed, have heard the sound of their voices, [in prayer] but they will not discourse with any one, but they continue as mute dead men. But come, let us go to them, and behave ourselves toward them with all due respect and caution. And if we can bring them to swear, perhaps they will tell us some of the mysteries of their resurrection." Annas, Caiphas, Nicodemus, and Gamaliel, proceed to Arimathea, they find Charinus and Lentius, at their devotions, and adjuring them by the Law, to relate what they had seen, they tremble, look up to heaven, make the sign of the cross upon their tongues, and then calling for paper, write the account of what they profess to have seen. "When we were placed with our fathers, in the

depth of hell," say they, "in the blackness of darkness, on a sudden there appeared the colour of the sun like gold, and a substantial purple coloured light enlightening (the place.) Presently upon this, Adam, the father of all mankind, with all the patriarchs and prophets, rejoiced and said, 'That light is the author of everlasting light, who hath promised to translate us to everlasting light.' And while we were all rejoicing, our father Simeon came among us, and congratulating all the company, said, 'Glorify the Lord Jesus Christ - - - .' "Afterwards there came forth one like a little hermit, and was asked by every one, 'Who art thou?' To which he replied, 'I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness John the Baptist.' - - - - But when the first man our father Adam heard these things, that Jesus was baptized in Jordan, he called out to his son Seth, and said, 'Declare to your sons, the patriarchs and prophets, all those things which thou didst hear from Michael the archangel, when I sent thee to the gates of paradise, to entreat God that he would anoint my head when I was sick.' Then Seth said, - -'I Seth, when I was praying to God at the gates of paradise, behold! the angel of the Lord, Michael, appeared unto me, saying - - - - 'I tell thee Seth, do not pray to God in tears, and entreat him for the oil of the tree of mercy, wherewith to anoint thy father Adam, for his head-ache, because thou canst not by any means obtain it, till the last day and times." A dialogue then ensues, between Satan, the prince and captain of death, and Beelzebub, the prince of hell, in which they are interrupted by suddenly hearing a voice, "as of thunder and the rushing of winds, saying, 'Lift up your heads, O ye princes; and be ye lift up, O everlasting gates, and the King of glory shall come in."

This is succeeded by the appearance of the King of glory enlightening the regions of darkness, and throwing the devils into confusion. "Then the King of glory trampling upon death, seized the prince of hell, deprived him of all

his power, and took our earthly father Adam with him to his glory." A quarrel takes place between Satan and Beelzebub, in which the prince of hell reproaches the prince of death, with being the occasion of the ruin of his kingdom, by urging the Jews to the crucifixion of Christ. Jesus then places Satan under the power of Beelzebub; and delivers the saints out of hell. On the entrance of the saints into paradise, they meet Enoch and Elias, and after a conversation betwixt the liberated saints and them, the narrative proceeds, "Behold there came another man in a miserable figure, carrying the sign of the cross upon his shoulders. And when all the saints saw him, they said to him, 'Who art thou? For thy countenance is like a thief's; and why dost thou carry a cross upon thy shoulders?' To which he answering, said, 'Ye say right, for I was a thief, who committed all sorts of wickedness upon earth. And the Jews crucified me with Jesus; and I observed the surprizing things which happened in the creation at the crucifixion of the Lord Jesus, and I believed him to be the Creator of all things, and the Almighty King, and I prayed to him, saying, 'Lord remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.' He presently regarded my supplication; and said to me, 'Verily, I say unto thee, this day thou shalt be with me in paradise.' And he gave me this sign of the cross, saying, 'Carry this, and go to paradise; and if the angel, who is the guard of paradise, will not admit thee, shew him the sign of the cross, and say unto him, Jesus Christ, who is now crucified, hath sent me hither to thee.' When I did this, and told the angel, he presently opened the gates, introduced me, and placed me on the right hand in paradise, saying, 'Stay here a little time, till Adam, the father of all mankind, shall enter in with all his sons, who are the holy and righteous [servants] of Jesus Christ, who is crucified." The relation concludes with the thanksgivings of the patriarchs; and Charinus

and Lenthius, after professing to have revealed all they were permitted, each deliver in a separate account, written on "distinct pieces of paper," which, on examination, "are found perfectly to agree, the one not containing one letter more or less than the other." Charinus and Lenthius immediately change "into exceeding white forms," and are seen no more. Joseph and Nicodemus afterwards relate the account to Pilate, who enters it in the public records, and going to the temple, summons all the rulers, and scribes, and doctors of the law, and says to them, "I have heard that ye have a certain large book in this temple; I desire you, therefore, that it may be brought before me." And when the great book, carried by four ministers, [of the temple,] and adorned with gold and precious stones, is brought; Pilate adjures them to declare whether the Scriptures testify of Christ. Annas and Caiphas dismiss the rest, and then avow their conviction that "Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and true and Almighty God."[41]—Such is the nature of a work, which was deemed of sufficient merit and importance, to be translated into various languages, to be one of the earliest specimens of typography; and to be placed in the churches for the edification of the people!

In the universities and cathedral churches, it was, at this period a general custom for the public lecturers to read upon any book, rather than upon the Scriptures. "Their readings," says Dr. Knight, (*Life of Colet,*) "were ushered in with a text, or rather a sentence of Scotus and Aquinas; and the explication was, not trying it by the word of God, but by the voice of scholastic interpreters, and the intricate terms of what they call logic; which was then nothing but the art of corrupting human reason, and the Christian faith. It is true, divinity lectures had been read in Latin within many cathedral churches, for the benefit

(41) Jones's New and Full Method of settling the Canonical authority of the N. T. II. pt. iii. ch. xxviii. p. 262, &c. Oxford, 1798, 8vo.

of the priests and clerks belonging to them. But the subject of them (as of all sermons *ad clerum* in the two universities, and in all ordinary visitations of the rural clergy) was commonly a question in scholastic theology, running into frivolous doubts, and elaborate resolutions out of the oracles of Scotus, and his puzzling interpreters; not to edification, but to a confounding the thoughts of God and religion." On one occasion, the learned Grocyn gave a singular instance of candour and ingenuousness. He read in St. Paul's cathedral a lecture upon the book of *Dionysius Areopagita*, commonly called *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica*. In the preface to his lecture, he declaimed with great warmth against those who either denied or doubted of the authority of the book on which he was reading. But after he had continued to read on this book a few weeks, and had more thoroughly examined its authenticity, he entirely changed his views of it, and openly declared that he had been in an error; and that the said book in his judgment was spurious, and never written by that author, who is in the *Acts of the Apostles*, called *Dionysius the Areopagite*.[42]

Occupied as the clergy were, in scholastic disputations; and the nobility, in pursuit of pleasure and martial honours; they were generally inattentive to the interests of literature and science. The Latin language declined in its classical purity; and the Greek was almost unknown. The mathematical sciences, though not entirely neglected, were chiefly studied by the pretenders to astrology: and when we find learning at so low an ebb among those of high rank, and of the ecclesiastical profession, we may justly conclude that the common people would be almost totally illiterate. We accordingly learn that "it was not till the reign of Henry IV. that villeins,* farmers, and mechanics,

(42) British Biography, I. pp. 328. 372. 377.

* *Villeins* were those under the feudal system, who were liable to be sold with the land they occupied, but differed from *Slaves*, by paying a fixed rent for the farm to which they were attached.

were permitted by law to put their children to school, and long after that, they dared not to educate a son for the church, without a license from their lord."[43]

CORNELIUS VITELLIUS, an Italian, was the first who taught *Greek* in the university of *Oxford;* and from him the famous Grocyn learned the first elements of it, which he afterwards perfected in Italy under Demetrius Chalcondyles, a learned Greek, and Politian, an Italian, professor of Greek and Latin at Florence. In *Cambridge,* ERASMUS was the first who publicly taught the *Greek grammar;* though even Erasmus himself, when he first came into England in 1497, had so incompetent an acquaintance with that language, that our countryman, Linacre, who was just returned from Italy, perfected him in his knowledge of it.

Dr. THOMAS LINACRE, or LYNACER, above named, was an eminent and most learned English physician, by whose exertions the *College of Physicians* was founded and incorporated, of which he held the office of president. In the decline of life, he resolved to change his profession for that of divinity, entered into holy orders, and was collated on the 23rd of October, 1509, to the rectory of Mersham; and obtained afterwards several preferments. An anecdote is related of him, which proves, that however accurate and extensive his grammatical knowledge of Latin and Greek might be, his ignorance of the Scriptures was so great, as to render him totally unfit for the sacred functions he assumed. Being ordained priest, at an age when his constitution was broken by study and infirmity, he, for the first time, took the *New Testament* into his hand, and having read the fifth and sixth chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, threw away the book, swearing, "Either this is not the Gospel, or we are not Christians!"[44] This, however, will appear the less extraordinary, when

(43) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, X. B. v. p. 128.
(44) British Biography, I. pp. 326. 330. 332.
Sir E. Brydge's Restituta, No. 3. p. 152.

it is remarked, that the study and use of the Scriptures was at that time so low, even in the university of Oxford, "that the being admitted a bachelor of divinity gave only liberty to read the Master of the Sentences, (Peter Lombard;) and the highest degree, that of doctor of divinity, did not admit a man to the reading of the Scriptures."[45]

The newly invented *Art of Printing*, which, towards the close of this century, was established in this kingdom by CAXTON and others, was chiefly employed in printing translations from the French, made by Earl Rivers and Caxton; and multiplying legends, and devotional works of a legendary nature. Two of these deserve particular notice, viz. the LIBER FESTIVALIS, or *Directions for keeping Feasts all the Yere*; and the QUATUOR SERMONES; both of them printed in folio, by William Caxton; and frequently bound together. Of the first, Hearne observes, that "it consists of a course of homilies, in which are many odd stories; that it goes by no other name than that of FESTIVALE, among curious men, who are very inquisitive after copies of it." (Robert Gloc. Chron. vol. II. p. 739.) Oldys adds, "that some of these *odd stories* are such, that the papists are now ashamed of them." (Biog. Brit. vol. III. p. 369, note O.) "The fact is," says Mr. Dibdin, "whatever be the nature of these stories, all 'curious' theological scholars may be well inquisitive after the *Liber Festivalis*, as it is the origin or substratum of the English COMMON PRAYER BOOK." The prologue tells us, that "For the help of such clerks, this book was drawn to excuse them for default of books, and for simpleness of cunning, and to shew unto the people what the holy saints suffered and did for God's sake, and for his love; so that they should have the more devotion in God's saints, and with the better will come to church to serve God, and pray the saints of their help." That it was principally taken from the *Legenda Aurea*, or Golden

(45) British Biography, 1. *Life of Colet*, p. 372, *note*.

Legend, is proved by the prologue of an ancient edition, in which the writer states, "this treatise is drawn out of 'Legenda Aurea,' that he that list to study therein, he shall find ready therein of all the principal feasts of the year, on every one a short sermon, needful for him to teach, and for them to learn; and for that this treatise speaketh of all the feasts of the year, I will and pray that it be called FESTIVAL."

Then follow, says Lewis, sermons on nineteen sundays and ferials, beginning with the first sunday in advent, and ending with Corpus Christi day. Next are discourses or sermons on forty-three holy-days. Then follows a sermon *De dedicatione Ecclesiæ*, or on the church holiday. The following extracts will afford an idea of the style and nature of the work:

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

"Father our that art in heavens, hallowed be thy name: thy kingdom come to us: thy will be done in earth as in heaven: our every day's bread give us to-day; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil sin, Amen."

The following specimen is from the "Festival of Saint Michael:"

"DE FESTO SCTI MICHAELIS."

"Good friends, such a day ye shall have Saint Michael's day the archangel: that day all holy church maketh mind and mention of all angels for the great succour, comfort, and help, that mankind had of angels, and especially of St. Michael. And for iij prerogatives he be had: for he is wonderful in appearing; for as Saint Gregory saith, when Almighty God will work any wonderful deed, then he sendeth for Michael his servant, as for his bannerer: for he beareth a shield or sign of his arms—wherefore he was sent with Moses and Aaron to Egypt to work marvels: for though the sign was in Moses, the

working was done by Michael: for he departed the red sea, and kept the waters in ii parts, while the people of Israel went through, and so passed; and led them forth from Jordan, and kept the water like an hill on each side of them, while they passed safe and sound to the land of behest. Also Michael is keeper of paradise, and taketh the souls that be sent thither."[46]

The QUATUOR SERMONES, which was a translation from the Latin, was most probably the Roman Catholic formulary of the day, respecting the religious topics of which it treats, namely, "The Lord's Prayer," "Belief," Ten Commandments," and "Articles of Faith." In the translation of the creed, which we have in the first sermon, the fourth article is thus expressed, "I byleve, that he suffered payne under Ponce Pilate, &c." the translator understanding Pontius to be the name of some place where Pilate was either born, or lived, or governed. Accordingly the book contains this silly tale: "The emperor, by counsel of the Romans, sent Pilate into a country called Pounce, where the people of that country were so cursed, that they slew any that come to be their master over them. So when this Pilate come thither, he applied him to her manners; so what with wiles and subtilty he overcame them, and had the mastery, and gat his name, and was called Pilate of Pounce, and had great domination and power." According to this manner of writing, excepting sometimes Ponce for Pounce, was this article of the creed expressed in English, from the fourteenth century down to A. D. 1532, when in the Primer of Salisbury use, it was altered to Pontius Pilate, which was followed by Archbishop Cranmer, in his notes on the King's Book, 1538.[47]

Another celebrated production of Caxton's press, was his translation, from the French, of the LEGENDA AUREA.

(46) Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, I. pp. 161—167.
(47) Ibid. I. pp. 170—172.

Of this work, some mention has been already made.* Caxton's translation, under the title of the GOLDEN LEGENDE, was printed at Westminster, in 1483, fol. A story from the English translation may entertain the reader. "There was a man that had borrowed of a Jew a sum of money, and sware upon the altar of saint Nicholas, that he would render and pay it again as soon as he might, and gave none other pledge. And this man held this money so long that the Jew demanded and asked his money. And he said that he had paid him. Then the Jew made him to come before the law in judgment, and the oath was given to the debtor, and he brought with him an hollow staff, in which he had put the money in gold, and he leaned upon the staff. And when he should make his oath and swear, he delivered his staff to the Jew to keep and hold whilst he sware, and then sware that he had delivered to him more than he owed to him. And when he had made the oath he demanded his staff again of the Jew, and he nothing knowing of his malice delivered it to him. Then this deceiver went his way, and laid him in the way, and a cart with four wheels came with great force and slew him, and brake the staff with gold, that it spread abroad. And when the Jew heard this, he came thither sore moved, and saw the fraud. And many said to him that he should take to him the gold. And he refused, saying, but if he that was dead were not raised again to life by the merits of saint Nicholas, he would not receive it. And if he came again to life he would receive baptism and become a Christian. Then he that was dead arose, and the Jew was christened."[48]

CAXTON bequeathed *thirteen* copies of this work to the church of St. Margaret, Westminster; from which it appears probable, that parts of it, like those of the FES-

(48) Beloe's Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books, II. p. 447.

* See vol. I. pp. 400. 448, of this work.

TIVAL, were read as homilies in the churches; and the multiplicity of editions by subsequent printers, seems to strengthen this conjecture. Herbert supposes, that if not used in this manner, "they might be only placed in some convenient part of the church, as Fox's Book of Martyrs was at the beginning of the reformation."[49]

None of our English printers, during this century, attempted to print the *Bible*, either in the Latin, or the vernacular tongue. In the application of printing to the purposes of sacred literature, the palm must be yielded to GERMANY, which as it had the honour of the invention of printing, so it was the first to apply it to the diffusion of Biblical knowledge. For not only were numerous editions of the *Latin* Bible, and several of the *German* version printed there, but editions also were published in the *Saxon* and *Bohemian* dialects.

The BOHEMIAN Bible was printed at Prague, in 1488, fol. and again at Kuttenberg, in 1489, fol.[50] Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. bore a noble testimony to the Scriptural knowledge of the Bohemians, in a work of his on the "Acts and Sayings of Alphonsus, king of Spain," in which he declared, "That it was a shame to the Italian priests, that many of *them* had never read the whole of the New Testament, whilst scarcely a *woman* could be found among the Bohemians, (or Taborites,) who could not answer any questions respecting either the Old or New Testament."[51] He died in 1464. A copy of the *Bohemian* Bible, printed in 1488, is preserved in the public library at Dresden.

Lambecius, in his *Comment. de Biblioth. Cæs. Vindob.* notices a magnificent MS. copy of the GERMAN OLD TESTAMENT, preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. It was executed about A. D. 1400, for WENCESLAUS, emperor

(49) Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, I. p. 193.
(50) Walchii Biblioth. Theolog. IV. p. 130.
Clarke's Bibliographical Miscellany, II. p. 107.
(51) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. p. 170.

of the West, and king of Bohemia. It is in large folio, ornamented with numerous paintings, richly illuminated of some of which Lambecius has given engravings. The most frequent of the marginal paintings, is an ornamented W. in which *Wenceslaus* is represented in prison and sometimes as attended by a woman, supposed to represent Susannah, the mistress of the bath, who aided his escape in a boat from the prison where he had been confined by his barons, and who afterwards became his favourite concubine. His second wife, who possessed powers far superior to the emperor, was SOPHIA, the daughter of John, duke of Bavaria; the celebrated *John Huss* was her confessor.[52] Dibdin has copied several of the paintings in the Bible of Wenceslaus from the fac-similes of Lambecius, in his splended *Bibliographical Decameron*, vol. I.

A Bible was printed in the dialect of LOWER SAXONY, according to Walch, at Cologne, in 1490, fol.[53] Another edition was published at Lubeck, in 1494, in 2 vols. fol. It is accompanied with notes, said to be those of De Lyra, but more probably composed, at least in part, by Hugo de St. Victor, and other early commentators. From Seelen's *Selecta Litteraria*, pp. 241, 242, says Mr. Dibdin, "it would appear that the intrinsic value of this impression is very considerable. In former times the *Low German* language was the usual vehicle for a vernacular version of the Scriptures; so that the present text is no trivial help for the understanding of some of the earlier editions of Luther's Bible; and although some parts of the commentary may not bear the test of severe critical investigation, yet there are others not void of propriety and sound sense; and considering the age in which it was probably composed, it breathes a spirit of liberality not usual in the ancient times of papacy."[54]

(52) Lambecii Comment. de Bibl. Cæs. Vindob. lib. ii. cap. viii. pp. 749—756. Vindob. 1669, fol.
(53) Walchii Biblioth. Theolog. IV. p. 96.
(54) Dibdin's Biblioth. Spencer. I. p. 57.

The purity of its text is said to be equal to the rarity and beauty of the work.

This edition, says Vogt, is in great estimation, as well on account of its rarity, as of its whimsical gloss or commentary. The following is given as an instance of its singularity. In the 3rd. chapter of Genesis, v. 16, where Eve is told she shall be henceforth under the power of her husband, the commentator remarks; "not only under his controul, but under his severe discipline: subject to be beaten and bruised by him!" An interpretation too absurd for refutation.[55]

About the year 1475, appeared the *first separate* edition of the NEW TESTAMENT in LATIN, in a small quarto form; for the convenience of general readers. Prefixed to the epistle of St. Jerom, which precedes the Sacred Text, is a notice, in Latin, by the printer, explaining the cause of the publication, of which the following is the substance: "It is the general cry, that every believer, who professes to have any knowledge of letters, is bound to have an acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, and more particularly with that part of the Bible, called the New Testament. It is certain, however, that but few persons have the means of procuring the *whole* of the Bible, and that many, even of the rich, prefer portable volumes. Induced by these considerations, as well as by the influence of my superiors, professors of sacred theology; and overcome by the zeal of certain monks and secular clergy, I have attempted, I hope, under favourable auspices, to print the present convenient volume, containing the whole of the New Testament, with a view to the glory of God; and shall be satisfied, if it afford benefit to any one." It is printed in double columns, with a delicate Gothic type. To the New Testament is subjoined; "Liber haymo de christianarum rerum memoria prolog."[56] Haymo, the author, was the

(55) Dibdin's Bibl. Spencer. *ubi sup.* (56) Ibid. I. pp. 32, 31, Note.

disciple of Alcuin, in the *ninth* century, a monk of Fulda, and afterwards bishop of Halberstadt. The work itself is an abridgment of ecclesiastical history.[57]

In 1475, an edition of the DUTCH Bible was printed at Cologne, in 2 vols. fol.; at Delft, in 1477, 2 vols. fol. and also in 4to. Another at Goudo, in 1479. These translations are said to have been mixed with many fabulous narratives; and were probably made at an earlier period than that of their being printed. They are supposed to have been preceded by an edition of the FOUR GOSPELS, printed in 1472.[58]

Le Long also mentions a POLISH version of the Scriptures, which from the colophon of a MS. copy upon vellum, appears to have been made about the middle of this century: "This Bible was executed by the command, and desire, of the most Serene Queen Sophia;—translated by Andrew de Jassowitz; and transcribed by Peter de Casdoszitz, August 18th, 1455, during the widowhood of Queen Sophia, and the reign of her son Casimir Jagellon." This Sophia was queen of Uladislaus IV. Andrew de Jassowitz flourished about A. D. 1410.[59]

In the year 1470, a curious work was printed by Schoeffer at Mentz, and by Helyas Helye, *alias* de Louffen, at Beraum, in fol. entitled "MAMMOTRECTUS." It contains, 1. An exposition of the phrases of the Bible, and of the Prologues of St. Jerom. 2. Two little treatises of orthography and of accents. 3. A short declaration of the months, festivals, &c. and of the Jewish priests. 4. An explanation of ancient words and terms, in responses, hymns, homilies, &c. 5. A declaration of the rules of the minor friars. The author of the work is supposed to be John Marchesinus, a priest of the order of minor friars, or of St. Francis, and a native of Reggio; who com-

(57) Cavei Hist. Litt. sæc. ix. p. 530.
(58) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. p. 409. fol. 1723.
Gentleman's Magazine, Jan. 1814, p. 30.
(59) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. p. 439. et *Index. Auctorum*, p. 563.

posed it in 1466, for the use of the less instructed in his own profession. It was printed more than twenty times in the *fifteenth* century.[60]

During this century, and especially towards the close of it, GERMANY and the neighbouring states produced several eminent men, who endeavoured to create an attention to literature in general, and laboured to promote an acquaintance with the original languages of the Sacred Scriptures. Amongst these, MATTHIAS DORINGK, or THORINGK, WESSELUS, REGIOMONTANUS, and REUCHLIN, particularly merit our esteem.

MATTHIAS DORINGK, or THORINGK, the celebrated author of the "Replies" to Paul of Burgos's "Additions" to the Commentary of De Lyra, was born at Kiritz, in the marche of Brandenburgh, and when young became a monk of St. Francis. After studying philosophy and theology with distinguished success, he rose to eminence, not only as a preacher, but as a lecturer on the Scriptures, and professor of theology. Whilst professor of theology at Magdeburg, he undertook the defence of De Lyra's Postils, or Commentaries, against the strictures and objections of Paul of Burgos. His defence is genrally found appended to the printed editions of De Lyra's work, along with the "Additions" of Paul of Burgos. In 1431, he held the office of minister of his order in the province of Saxe, and received letters from the landgravé of Thuringia, requesting him to introduce some reform among the Franciscans of Eisenac. About the same time, he was sent as one of the deputies to the council of Basil, (one object of which was the reformation of the church,) by that party of his order who adhered to that council. Either at that time, or afterwards, he was raised to be general of the order. The close of his life was spent in retirement, in the monastery of Kiritz, where

(60) Dibdin's Biblioth. Spencer. I. pp. 154. 157.
Horne's Introduction to Bibliography II. App. p. lvi.

he wrote the greater part of his works. The time of his death is disputed; some placing it in 1494, others, with more probability, in 1464. Beside the work already mentioned, he was the author of others, and amongst them of a "Chronicle," in which he treated the characters of the popes and cardinal with such freedom, as has led to the supposition that he was the writer of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*; which, however, appears to be a mistake, as his work remains in MS. in the library of the university of Leipsic.[61]

JOHN HERMAN WESSELUS, of Groningen, was born about the year 1419. He studied at Zwoll and Cologne, and afterwards at Paris, and was so celebrated for his talents and attainments, as to be denominated *The Light of the World.* His extraordinary religious knowledge, and truly Christian spirit, were so indisputable, and his views of Gospel doctrines so clear, that he has justly been called *The Forerunner of Luther.* So astonished was that great reformer when he first met with some pieces written by Wesselus, that he wrote a preface to the Leipsic edition of his works, printed in 1522, in which he says, "It is very plain he was taught of God, as Isaiah prophesied that Christians should be: (Is. liv. 13.) and as in my own case, so with him, it cannot be supposed that he received his doctrines from men. If I had read his works before, my enemies might have supposed that I had learnt every thing from Wesselus, such a perfect coincidence there is in our opinions."

Wesselus not only studied the Greek language, by the help of the Dominican friars, who about this time passed over to the West, from Constantinople, after its subjection to the Mohammedan government, but obtained from certain learned Jews, a knowledge of the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic tongues. Having been early instructed in the scholastic disputes, and having by his industry, ac-

(61) Chalmers' Gen. Biog. Dict. XII. pp. 272—274. Lond. 1813.

quired an uncommon share of Biblical learning, he taught philosophy and philology with great applause, at Groningen, Paris, Cologne, Heidelberg, and especially at Basil, where he had the famous Reuchlin for a hearer. His opposition to the Romish errors, and the prevalent subtilties of scholastic disputations, subjected him to considerable danger, but his reputation for learning and piety was so great, and his protectors were so powerful, that he escaped uninjured by the storm.

On the advancement of Cardinal Francis de Rovere to the papal chair, under the name of Sixtus IV. he sent for him to Rome, and promised to grant him whatever he would ask: Wesselus answered, "Holy father, and kind patron, I shall not press hard upon your holiness. You well know I never aimed at great things. But as you now sustain the character of the supreme pontiff, and shepherd on earth, my request is, that you would so discharge the duties of your elevated station, that your praise may correspond with your dignity, and that when the great shepherd shall appear, whose first minister you are, he may say, Well done, good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of thy Lord:' and moreover, that you may be able to say boldly, Lord, thou gavest me five talents, behold, I have gained five other talents." The pope replied, "That must be *my* care: But do you ask something for yourself." "Then, rejoined Wesselus, "I beg you to give me out of the Vatican Library, a GREEK, and an HEBREW BIBLE." "You shall have them," said Sixtus, "but foolish man, why don't you ask for a bishoprick, or something of that sort?" "For the best of reasons," said Wesselus, "because I do not want such things?" The Hebrew Bible thus presented, was long afterwards preserved in his native city of Groningen. He died in 1489, aged 70.

His works have been several times printed, but the most complete edition was published in 1614, 4to. with

a short account of his life by Albert Hardenberg.[62]

JOHN MULLER, commonly called REGIOMONTANUS, from his native place, Mons Regius, or Konigsberg, a town in Franconia, was born in 1436, and became the greatest astronomer and mathematician of his time. Having first acquired grammatical learning in his own country, he was admitted, while yet a boy, into the academy at Leipsic; from whence he removed at only fifteen years of age, to Vienna, to enjoy the superior advantages afforded to his pursuits, by the learned professors in that university. After some years the Cardinal Bessarion arrived at Vienna, and soon formed an acquaintance with the youthful astronomer, who, in order to perfect his knowledge of the Greek tongue, accompanied the cardinal to Rome, where he studied under Theodore Gaza, a learned Greek. In 1463, he went to Padua, where he became a member of the university. In 1464, he removed to Venice, to meet and attend his patron Bessarion.* He returned the same year with the cardinal to Rome, where he made some stay, to procure the most curious books: those he could not purchase, he took the pains to transcribe, as he wrote with great facility and elegance; and others he got copied at a great expense; for as he was certain that none of these books could be had in Germany, he intended on his return thither, to translate and publish some of the best of them. It was, probably, at this period, that he transcribed, in the most beautiful manner, the whole of the *New Testament* with his own hand, a labour which he undertook from the ardour of his attachment to the

(62) Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, IV. pp. 295, 296. 302.
Enfield's Hist. of Philosophy, B. vii. ch. iii. p. 383.
Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. pt. ii. lib. iii. p. 446.

* Among other curiosities in the library of Louvain, there is a *MS. Bible*, given to the doctors of the university, by Cardinal Bessarion, in grateful acknowledgment of their hospitable treatment of him. Horne's Introd. to Bibliog. II. p. 594.

Divine Volume, and which he is said to have rendered familiar to him by constant perusal.

Having procured a considerable number of MSS. he returned to Vienna, and for some time read lectures; after which he went to Buda, on the invitation of Matthias, or Mattheo, king of Hungary, the great patron of learned men. The breaking out of the war occasioned his withdrawing to Nuremberg, where he set up a printing house, and printed several astronomical works. In 1474, he was prevailed upon by Pope Sixtus IV. to return to Rome, to assist in reforming the calendar. He arrived at Rome in 1475, but died there a year after, at only forty years of age, not without suspicion of being poisoned.[68]

JOHN REUCHLIN, who assumed the name of CAPNIO, was born at Pforzheim, a town of Suabia, in the electorate of Baden, A. D. 1454. Being trained up among the choristers of the church of his native town, he was noticed by the margrave of Baden, who took him under his care, and afforded him the opportunity of acquiring a liberal education. He afterwards studied at Paris, and Basil; and in 1481, obtained the degree of doctor of law, at Orleans. On his return to Germany he accompanied Eberhard, count of Wirtemberg, to Rome; and afterwards was sent on embassies to the Emperor Frederick III. and the papal court. His extraordinary attachment to the Hebrew language discovered itself on both these occasions: at Rome he engaged a Jew to perfect his knowledge of that tongue, for which he paid him the enormous sum of a piece of gold an hour; at the court of Frederick, instead of receiving the usual presents of richly caparisoned horses, or golden cups, or other valuable gifts of a similar nature, he requested and obtained a very ancient *Hebrew Bible.*

(63) Chalmers' Gen. Biog. Dic. XXII. p. 506. Lond. 1812, &c. 8vo. Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. pt. ii. lib. iii. p. 447.

Though eminently learned in the Latin and Greek languages, he appears to have been chiefly occupied with the Hebrew, of which he composed a *Grammar*, the first that had been written of that tongue by a Christian. He was also the author of an *Hebrew Lexicon*, and of several other works relative to that primeval language. He is justly regarded as the restorer of Hebrew and Greek learning, in Germany; though his singular erudition, and active promotion of literature, subjected him at that time to the most virulent opposition, from the superstitious and ignorant inquisitors and monks. One of the most formidable disputes in which he was involved, arose out of his extensive knowledge of the rabbinical writings. John Pfeffercorn, a famous converted Jew, had long petitioned the Emperor Maximilian, to burn all the Jewish books except the Bible; as tending only to encourage superstition and impiety, and prevent the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. The emperor, partially yielding to his petition, sent orders to Uriel, archbishop of Mentz, to nominate some university, to which, along with the inquisitor James Hochstrat, and John Reuchlin, the decision of the question might be referred. Reuchlin, in reply to the inquiries of the archbishop, remarked, that the Jewish works might be divided into three classes, historical, medical, and talmudical, which although mixed with many fabulous and ridiculous fictions, were useful in the refutation of their errors and antichristian opinions. This decision he sent sealed to the archbishop; but Pfeffercorn, learning the sentence, immediately published a work against Reuchlin, calling him the champion and patron of the Jews; this was followed by a similar publication from Hochstrat. The opinion of Reuchlin was also condemned by the universities of Paris and Cologne, and the book which he had written in defence of it publicly burnt. On the other hand, the archbishop of Spire ap-

proved of Reuchlin, and gave judgment in his favour, in the cause brought before him by Hochstrat and his advocates. The dispute was ultimately carried to Rome, where Hochstrat remained for three years, but finding the delegates appointed by Pope Leo X. favourable to Reuchlin, he returned to Germany, where he afterwards became active in committing some of the early Lutherans to the flames, and where he died at Cologne, about A. D. 1527.

Towards the close of life, Reuchlin devoted himself to teaching the Hebrew and Greek languages, in the university of Ingolstadt, till being incapacitated by the jaundice, he retired to Stutgard, where he died in 1521, aged 67.

Beside the works already mentioned, he published several others on Hebrew literature; a *Translation from Hebrew into Latin of the VII. Penitential Psalms,* printed in Hebrew and Latin, at Tubingen, 1512, 8vo.; a treatise *De Arte Cabalistica,* dedicated to Leo X.; an *Abridgment of the History of the Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, &c.*[61]

The munificent patronage afforded to literature by Mattheo Corvini, king of Hungary and Bohemia, who died of an apoplexy in 1490, also merits particular notice. He succeeded his father to the throne of Hungary in 1457, and extended his reputation as a soldier throughout Europe, by the captures of Vienna and Nieustadt. But his love of literature, and patronage of learning, have transmitted his name with more tranquil and delightful recollections to posterity, than any warlike feats could possibly have done. Animated by an ardent thirst for knowledge, he became a most diligent collector of books, and during the last thirty

(64) Cavei Hist. Litt. sæc. xv. Append. p. 183.
Sleidan's History of the Reformation, by Bohun, lib. ii. pp. 29, 30.
Jortin's Life of Erasmus, I. pp. 60, 61. 122. 379.
Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. lib. iii. pt. ii. pp. 447, 448.

years of his life spared no expense in the acquisition of a library, which placed him among the most illustrious patrons and guardians of literature. He purchased innumerable volumes of Greek and Hebrew writers at Constantinople, and other Grecian cities, at the period of the conquest of the Eastern empire by the Turks; and as the operations of the typographical art were yet but slow and imperfect, and the number of books hitherto printed but few, he maintained four learned transcribers at Florence, to multiply the copies of such classics as he could not procure in Greece. He erected three libraries in the citadel of Buda, in which he placed 30,000, or, according to others, 50,000 volumes. The principal one, in which the chief part of his magnificent collection was placed, was a sort of vaulted gallery, divided into three parts: a fourth part forming a kind of convenient appendage for the reception of visitors. In this fourth part were two stained glass windows, and two doors; one of the doors opening immediately into the library, the other leading to the monarch's private apartment. In these libraries he established thirty amanuenses, skilled in writing, illuminating, and painting, who, under the direction of Felix Ragusinus, a Dalmatian, consummately learned in the Greek, Chaldee, and Arabic languages, and an elegant designer and painter of ornaments on vellum, attended constantly to the business of transcription and decoration. The librarian was Bartholomew Fontius, a learned Florentine, the writer of several philological works, and a professor of Greek and oratory, at Florence. The *Books* were placed upon shelves according to their classes; and in this manner were covered with silk curtains, or hangings, adorned with silver and gold, or brocaded. The lower recesses next to the floor, were appropriated to something like cupboards, which contained MSS. too large for their proper places, or of a character not easily admitting of classification.

The exterior of this lower division, or probably the cupboard-doors were skilfully and curiously carved. The books were chiefly VELLUM MSS. bound in brocade, and protected by knobs and clasps of silver, or other precious metal; and were ornamented or marked with the device or insignia of the owner, which was that of a BLACK CROW with a ring in his mouth, in allusion to the etymon of his name, *Corvus*, a crow, or raven. The library was likewise celebrated for the magnificent *celestial globe* it contained, and for the silver and marble *fountains* which played in the adjoining gallery, or court. When Buda was captured by the Turks, under Solyman II. in 1526, Cardinal Bozmanni offered for this inestimable collection 200,000 pieces of the imperial money, but without effect, for the barbarous besiegers defaced or destroyed most of the books, for the sake of their splendid covers, and the silver bosses and clasps with which they were enriched. Those which escaped the rapacity of the Turkish soldiery, were thrown into a sort of subterraneous vault, there to moulder or perish, as it might happen. In 1666, Lambecius, the learned librarian of the Imperial Library at Vienna, was sent to Buda, for the purpose of recovering the remains of the Corvinian Library. He found there, in a crypt of the citadel, barely lighted with one window, and ventilated with one door, about 400 volumes in number, lying upon an earthen floor, and covered with dirt and filth. Three manuscript copies of the *Fathers* were all that he was permitted to carry away. But in the year 1686, Buda was captured by the Austrian arms, when the remainder, though comparatively of little value, were removed to Vienna. Some of the most valuable volumes formerly belonging to this library, have been discovered in the Imperial Library at Vienna, in the Wolfenbuttel Library, and in that of Morelli, the learned librarian of St. Mark's, at Venice. In the Public Library of Brussels, there are

two exquisitely finished MSS. which once graced the library of Corvinus. The first is a Latin EVANGELISTARIUM, written in letters of gold, upon the most beautiful vellum, and not inaptly called THE GOLDEN BOOK. It had become the property of Philip II. of Spain, who kept it in the Escurial Library, under lock and key; and is said to have been formerly shown to strangers with great ceremony, and by torch light! The other is a magnificent MISSAL, highly illuminated.

Alexander Brassicanus, who saw the library at Buda before it was dispersed, noticed, amongst an immense number of other valuable works, the whole of the writings of Hyperides, the Grecian orator, with valuable scholia; a large book of the apostolical canons; the commentary of Theodoret on the Psalms; the works of Chrysostom, Cyril, Nazianzen, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Theophanus, &c.[65]

During this century flourished also R. ISAAC, or MORDECAI NATHAN, a celebrated Jew, and the *first* who engaged in the laborious work of compiling a HEBREW CONCORDANCE, which he began in 1438, and completed in 1448, after ten years wearisome toil. His book was published at Venice, 1523, but with considerable defects, many words and places being wholly omitted. A second edition was printed at Basil, 1581, by Ambrose Froben, in which some of the faults of the Venice edition were corrected, but without altering the form, or supplying the defects. A splendid edition, by Marius de Calasio, a Franciscan friar, was published at Rome, in 1621, in 4 vols. fol. to which were added, 1. A Latin translation of R. Nathan's explanation of the several roots, with the author's own enlargements; 2. The Rabbinical, Chaldee,

(65) Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron, II. pp. 455—462.
Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, II. pp. 417, 418.
Lomeier, De Bibliothecis, cap. ix. p. 204.
Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, II. p. 595.

Syriac, and Arabic words, derived from, or agreeing with the Hebrew root in signification; 3. A literal version of the Hebrew text; 4. The variations of the Vulgate and Septuagint; 5. The proper names of men, rivers, mountains, &c. Afterwards John Buxtorf, the indefatigable propagator of the Hebrew language, undertook to correct and reform the preceding editions, and happily succeeded, by casting it into an entirely new form. This was printed after his death, by his son, at Basil, in 1632, fol. The Rev. W. Romaine published an improved edition of Calasio's work, in 1747, at London, in 4 vols. fol. "But in point of usefulness this is vastly inferior to 'The *Hebrew Concordance*, adapted to the English Bible, disposed after the manner of Buxtorf, by *John Taylor*, D. D.' London, 1754, 2 vols. fol. which may be justly styled the *sixth* edition of R. Nathan's Concordance, for it has been the ground work of the whole." Dr. Taylor's "work was published under the patronage of all the English and Irish bishops, and is a monument to their honour, as well as to the learning and industry of the editor."[66] The time of R. Nathan's death is uncertain.

Besides the oriental and Biblical scholars who have been already noticed, there were several, who, towards the close of this century, prosecuted similar studies with success; among these may be enumerated MARCUS LYPOMANNUS; LAURENTIUS VALLA; BAPTISTA MANTUANUS; JOHN PICUS, earl of Mirandola; RODOLPHUS AGRICOLA; and JOHN CRESTON.

MARCUS LYPOMANNUS, a counsellor and patrician of the Republic of Venice, eminently skilled in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, flourished in the early part of this century.[67]

LAURENTIUS VALLA, a Roman patrician, doctor of divinity, and canon of St. John of Lateran, was one of the

(66) Taylor's Hebrew Concordance, Preface, sec. i. vol. I.
Clarke's Bibliographical Dictionary, II. p. 113.
(67) Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. lib. iii. pt. ii. p. 440.

chief restorers of the beauty of the Latin language. His work "On the elegance of the Latin language," has been frequently printed. He was also the author of *Annotations on the New Testament*, edited by Erasmus, who wrote in defence of them. Valla had a design to translate the New Testament into Latin; but being forbidden by the pope, he could only write notes upon the Vulgate, censuring the bad latinity, and the inaccuracy of this version. F. Simon is perhaps too severe upon him as a critic, and says, that as he was a mere grammarian his remarks are inconsiderable. His "Annotations" were favourably received by Pope Nicholas V. who recalled him from Naples, whither he had fled, to avoid the persecution of the inquisition. He died in 1457, in the 52nd. year of his age.[68]

Baptista Mantuanus, a monk of Mantua, of the order of the Carmelites, after being chosen six times *Vicar General*, was constituted *General* of the order. To polite literature he added the knowledge of the Hebrew, as well as of the Greek and Latin languages. He wrote a tract entitled *De Causa Diversitatis inter Interpretes S. Scripturæ*, in which he defended the Vulgate version against the Jews. His works were printed at Antwerp, in 1607, in 4 vols. 8vo. He died in 1516.[69]

John Francis Picus, or Pico, earl of Mirandola, was born February 24th. 1463. He lost his father early, but he found in his mother a most attentive guardian; and the care which she took of his education, was repaid by the most astonishing improvement. It is said, that when he was only eighteen years of age he understood twenty-two different languages. In 1491, he gave up his estates, and retired to one of his castles, that he might devote himself entirely to theological studies, and

(68) Hody, *ut sup.* Jortin's Life of Erasmus, I. p. 20.
(69) Hody, *ut sup.* p. 443.
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, II, p. 624. Paris, 1723.

especially to the study of the Scriptures. In this retirement he died, in 1494, at the age of thirty-one. He wrote against *Judicial Astrology*, combating the cabalistic opinions of the Jews; and defended the *Septuagint version of the Psalms;* and was the author of an *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer*, and many other works.[70] After he had withdrawn from the pomp and ambition of the court, he thus expressed himself in a letter to a friend: "Many think it a man's greatest happiness in this life to enjoy dignity and power, and to live in the plenty and splendour of a court; but of these, you know, I have had a share: and - - - - I am persuaded the Cæsars, if they could speak from their sepulchres, would declare Picus more happy in his solitude, than they were in the government of the world: and if the dead could return, they would choose the pangs of a second death, rather than risk their salvation a second time in public stations."[71]

Rodolphus Agricola was a learned German. Towards the close of life he devoted himself entirely to the study of the Scriptures, and of the Hebrew tongue, which he had only begun to learn at forty; but in which he made such improvement, that with the assistance of his teacher, he made a translation of the Psalms. He died in 1485, aged forty-three.[72]

John Creston was an Italian Carmelite monk and doctor, of Placentia. He published an edition of the Psalms, in Greek, with a Latin translation, or rather corrected edition of the Vulgate, printed at Milan, 1481, in small folio, or quarto, at the expense of Bonaccursius Pisanus.[73]

(70) Hody, pp. 445, 446.
Clarke's Bibliographical Dictionary, V. p. 215.
Le Long, II. p. 905.
(71) Butler's Lives, IX. p. 71.
(72) Hody, p. 446. Jortin's Life of Erasmus, I. p. 76.
(73) Hody, p. 446.
Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. ii. vol. II. sec. 1. p. 311.

CHAPTER III.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Encouragement of Literature in Italy. George of Ambasia. Leo X. Profligacy of the Papal court. Polyglotts. Aug. Justinian. Complutensian Polyglott. Cardinal Ximenes. Mozarabic Liturgy. Editors of the Complutensian Polyglott. Sanctes Pagninus. Learned Italians. Spanish Councils. Hebrew Literature. State of Biblical Literature in France and England. Persecutions in England. Biblical Scholars. Low state of Biblical Knowledge in Germany. Astonishing Ignorance of many of the Clergy. German Scholars. Erasmus.

THE commencement of the *Sixteenth Century* was marked by a rapidly increasing ardour for classical pursuits, and by the publication of various important and magnificent Biblical works, which displayed both the erudition and munificence of those who projected and executed them. In ITALY, the court of Rome, with singular inconsistency, lavished its favours on men of learning and scientific acquirements, regardless of the moral turpitude of their character, and the infidel profligacy of their opinions and habits. Incredible pains were taken to collect books from every quarter, at immense expense; and the papal thunders were directed against any persons who should purloin or disperse the volumes belonging to the libraries attached to the various monastic institutions. A curious proof of this fact is afforded by an epistle, addressed by the cardinal legate, George of Ambasia, to the canons of Bruges, from whom he had borrowed *Hilary on the Psalms.*

"GEORGE of AMBASIA, presbyter of Saint Sixtus, cardinal of Rouen, legate of the apostolic see, to his dear friends the venerable the fathers, the canons, and chapter, of the sacred chapel of Bruges; wisheth peace."

"HAVING been informed that in the library of your sacred chapel, there was an ancient copy of *Hilary of Poitiers upon the Psalms;* and taking great delight in literary pursuits, especially those which regard our holy religion, so far as our weak abilities will permit; we requested from your paternal kindness the loan of that book for a few days, to which you courteously acceded, notwithstanding the *Pontifical Bull,* which forbade any books being taken away from the library under pain of excommunication."

"Wherefore, having read the book with considerable pleasure, we have resolved to have it copied; for which purpose it will be requisite to have it in our possession for some months, though we intend, after it has been transcribed, to return it uninjured to your paternal care. We, therefore, absolve you from whatever censures or punishments you might incur by lending the book; and, by the authority with which we are invested, do hereby pronounce and declare you absolved, notwithstanding any thing to the contrary, contained in the aforesaid bull, or in any other."

"Given at Bruges, the third day of March MDVII.

GEORGE, cardinal-legate of Rouen."[1]

The election of the young Cardinal JOHN DE MEDICI, to the pontifical chair, in 1513, proved favourable to the general interests of literature, but increased the licentiousness of the papal court, and spread a baneful influence over the whole of the Romish hierarchy. The celebrity of this pontiff, who assumed the title of LEO X. and the intimate connection of his pontificate with the Reformation by LUTHER, may justify us in detailing at some

(1) Voyages Litteraires de deux Religieux Benedictins, I. p. 29.

length, the more prominent traits of his life and character.

JOHN, or GIOVANNI DE MEDICI, was a native of Florence, the second son of LORENZO, styled the *Magnificent*, and grandson of COSMO the Great. From his infancy he was destined to the church, and received an education suited to the high rank and ambitious views of his father, which produced a correspondent gravity of deportment at so very early an age, that his biographer says, "he seems never to have been a child."

At seven years of age he was admitted into holy orders, and about a year afterwards, was appointed abbot of Fonte Dolce, by Louis XI. of France, who also conferred upon him the abbacy of the rich monastery of Pasignans. Yet we are assured that at this early period he "was not more distinguished from his youthful associates, by the high promotions which he enjoyed, than he was by his attention to his studies, his strict performance of the duties enjoined him, and his inviolable regard to truth." He, however, bore "his blushing honours thick upon him," for when he was only thirteen years of age, he received the dignity of a cardinal, from Pope Innocent VIII. and Pope Julius II. employed him as legate. On the 11th. of March 1513, being then only thirty-seven years old, he was elected supreme head of the church, on the decease of Julius, and assumed the name of Leo X.

The commencement of his pontificate seemed to realize the high expectations which had been formed of it, particularly by a general amnesty published at Florence, his native city, respecting those who had been the occasion of the violent civil commotions which had taken place in it; and by the recall of the banished citizens to their country. With considerable address and perseverance, he surmounted the difficulties which had prevented the enjoyment of peace between Italy and France; and composed the troubles which the ambition of the surrounding sovereigns, or the misconduct of his predecessors, had

occasioned. Unhappily, however, the hopes that were entertained respecting him, and the excellency of his pontifical government, were never realized; his ambitious projects being accomplished, by his advancement to the tiara, he became indolent and voluptuous; his assumed gravity gave way to the lowest buffoonery; his munificence degenerated into prodigality; and his attachment to truth was lost in the insincerity of his political engagements: even in his literary pursuits, *profane* was generally preferred to *sacred* literature; and his disposal of ecclesiastical dignities was frequently regulated by the aid afforded to his pleasures. He conferred the archbishoprick of Bari on Gabriel Merino, a Spaniard, whose chief merit consisted in the excellence of his voice, and his knowledge of church-music; and promoted another person named Francesco Paoloso, for similar qualifications, to the rank of an archdeacon. "It seems to have been his intention," says one of his biographers, "to pass his time cheerfully, and to secure himself against trouble and anxiety by all the means in his power. He therefore sought all opportunities of pleasure and hilarity, and indulged his leisure in amusement, jests, and singing."[2]

An elegant writer thus characterizes the court of Leo: "While Leo, with equal splendour and profusion, supported the character of a sovereign prince, he was too prone to forget the gravity of the pontiff. He delighted in exposing to public ridicule, those characteristic infirmities of some of his courtiers, which his own penetration easily discovered.—But these were venial aberrations from decorum, in comparison with those excesses which Leo's example sanctioned, or at which his indifference connived. The few who, amidst this more than syren fascination, still retained any sense of decency, were constrained to

(2) Roscoe's Life of Leo X. vol. IV. p. 486; and Life of Lorenzo de Medici, II. pp. 178—196; 379—383. Lond. 1806, 8vo. and Lond. 1800.

blush on beholding ecclesiastics mingling, without reserve, in every species of pleasurable dissipation. The younger cardinals especially, many of whom were junior branches of royal or illustrious houses, exulted in the free participation of indulgences, to which the most sacred characters were no restraint. Rome frequently saw her court, with a multitude of attendants, and an immense apparatus, accompany the supreme pontiff to partake of the sports of the field. Under the direction of the ingenious Cardinal *Bibiena,* whose versatile talents appeared to equal advantage on serious, festive, or ludicrous occasions, the spacious apartments of the Vatican were metamorphosed into theatres. The pontifical tables teemed with luxurious viands, that realized the refinements of Apicius: and particular seasons afforded a sanction to the freedoms and buffooneries of the ancient Saturnalia. Jovius acknowledges, that Adrian, a man of a frugal character, could not examine, without shuddering, the particulars of those enormous disbursements, which marked the domestic establishment of his predecessor."[3]

Leo has been accused of treating revelation with contempt, and of advancing principles of an atheistical tendency. Old Bishop Bale, in his *Pageant of Popes,* (p. 179,) printed 1574, relates this anecdote: "On a time when Cardinal Bembus did move a question out of the Gospell, the pope gave him a very contemptuous answere, saying, *All ages can testifye enough how profitable that fable of Christe hath ben to us, and our companie.*"[4] The authenticity of this anecdote has been denied by a late biographer of this pontiff, who calls it, "a story which it has justly been remarked, has been repeated by three or four hundred different writers, without any authority whatsoever, except that of the author above referred to;"[5]

(3) Greswell's Memoirs of Angelus Politianus, &c. pp. 141, 143. 145. Manchester, 1801, 8vo.
(4) Roscoe's Life of Leo the Tenth, IV. ch. xxiv. p. 479.
(5) Ibid. p. 480.

But that this assertion is incorrect, appears by a quotation, containing the same anecdote, made from an old Spanish writer, by Greswell, in his *Memoirs of Angelus Politianus, Actius Sincerus Sannazarius, Petrus Bembus, &c.* p. 135, where, after observing that several circumstances are recorded by the earlier reformed writers, "which reflect much on Bembo's character, and that of Leo X. his master," he adds, in a note, "The following is the bold language of an old Spanish writer, with regard to Leo X.

"Fue un hombre atheista, que ni pensó aver cielo, ni infierno despues desta vida: y assi se murio sin recebir los sacramentos. Sanazaro dize que no los pudo recebir porque los avia vendido.* Veesse tambien claramente su atheismo por la respuesta que dio al Cardenal Bembo, que le avia alegado cierto passo del Evangelio: al qual dissolutamente respondio Leon estas palabras: Todo el mundo sabe quanto provecho aya traydo á nosotros, y á nuestra compañia aquella fabula de Christo, &c."

"*Dos Tratados: el prima es del Papa y de su autoridad; et el segundo es de la Missa.* 2nd. ed. 8vo. 1599. The preface dated 1588, and subscribed C. D. V."[6]

On the first day of August in every year, Leo was accustomed to invite such of the cardinals as were among his more intimate friends, to *play at Cards* with him, when he distributed pieces of gold to the crowd of spectators who were permitted to be present at this entertainment. He was also a thorough proficient in the game of chess, though he is said to have always reproved the playing with dice.[7]

---

(6) Greswell's Memoirs of Angelus Politianus, &c. p. 135.

* The following is the epigram alluded to above:

"In Leonem X. Pont. Max.
Sacra sub extrema si forte requiritis hora
Cur Leo non potuit sumere,—*vendiderat.*"
[Greswell, *ut sup.* p. 104.

(7) Roscoe's Life of Leo the Tenth, IV. ch. 24. pp. 486, 487.

Other gratifications in which Leo indulged were of the lowest and most disgusting nature; such as his entertaining in his palace, a mendicant friar, called Father Martin, whose chief merit consisted in eating forty eggs, or twenty capons, at a meal, and such like feats of voracious gluttony; and the pleasure he derived from deceiving his guests by preparing dishes of crows and apes, and similar animals, and seeing the avidity with which the high seasoned food was devoured. Yet brutish as were these sources of diversion, they have found an apologist in a celebrated writer, who regards them when associated with Leo's literary pleasures, as serving "to mark *that diversity and range of intellect* which distinguished not only Leo X., but also other individuals of this extraordinary family!"[8] It must however be acknowledged, that his own meals were generally of the most frugal nature.

The profuse expenditure of Leo involved him in embarrassments, which led to the adoption of expedients, to supply the deficiency of his income, which for a while effected their purpose, but in the end became the means of limiting the pontifical authority, and of producing an ecclesiastical revolution, infinitely serviceable to the interests of religion and truth. Among the schemes which he adopted, to drain the wealth of the credulous multitude, was the open sale of *Dispensations* and *Indulgences* for the most enormous and disgraceful crimes, under pretence of aiding the completion of the magnificent and expensive church of St. Peter, at Rome. In Germany, the right of promulgating these indulgences was granted to Albert, elector of Metz and archbishop of Magdeburg, who employed a Dominican friar named Tetzel, as his chief agent for retailing them in Saxony; who, executing his commission with the most shameless effrontery, roused the indignation of LUTHER against such flagrant abuses of the papal authority, and created such a feeling against

(8) Roscoe's Life of Leo the Tenth, IV. p. 491.

the infamous measure, as terminated, by the gracious control of Divine providence, in the glorious REFORMATION from popery.[9]

The most illustrious trait in the character of Leo, was his munificent patronage of learning and the fine arts. He was himself well versed in the Latin language, and possessed a competent knowledge of the Greek, accompanied with singular proficiency in polite literature, and extensive acquaintance with history in general. In the attention paid by him to the collecting and preserving of ancient MSS. and other memorials of learning, he emulated the example of his father, and by his perseverance and liberality at length succeeded in restoring to its former splendour the celebrated *Laurentian Library*, which had been commenced by Cosmo de Medici, but had been afterwards dispersed by the troops of Charles VIII. of France, on the expulsion of the haughty Piero di Medici from Florence. It was removed by Leo to Rome, from whence it was re-transferred to Florence, by his cousin and successor Clement VIII.; who, by a bull, dated December 15, 1532, made provision for its future security. Among the learned who were patronized by Leo, are enumerated, TESEO AMBROGIO; SANTE PAGNINI; AGOSTINO GIUSTINIANI; AGACIO GUIDACERIO; and particularly ERASMUS, between whom and the pontiff an epistolary correspondence occasionally subsisted, and who dedicated to Leo, his edition of the Greek and Latin New Testament. But his patronage of Oriental and Biblical scholars was certainly very far inferior in its remunerations, to that which was bestowed upon the cultivators of the fine arts and more modern literature.[10] The two celebrated historians of the council of Trent, are agreed as to his preference of profane to sacred

(9) Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de Medici, II. ch. x. pp. 383, 384. Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. II. B. ii. pp. 91—95.

(10) Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de Medici, II. ch. x. pp. 387—390. Roscoe's Life of Leo the Tenth, IV. ch. xxiv. pp. 474—476; and II. ch. xi. pp. 396—404.

literature; Fra. Paolo, *(Conc. di Trent.* lib. i. p. 5.*)* thinks he might have been deemed "a perfect pontiff," if to his other "accomplishments he had united some knowledge of religion, and a greater inclination to piety; to neither of which," says the historian, "he appeared to pay any great attention;" and Pallavacini, the opponent of Fra. Paolo, acknowledges *(Conc: di Trent.* lib. i. cap. iii. p. 51.) that this defect "was more apparent, when being instituted at thirty seven years of age the president and chief of the Christian religion, he not only continued to devote himself to the curiosity of profane studies, but even called into the sanctuary of religion itself, those who were better acquainted with the fables of Greece, and the delights of poetry, than with the history of the church, and the doctrines of the Fathers."[11] His indifference to religion and religious duties, is farther confirmed by his conduct respecting the discourses delivered in his presence. "In the year 1514, he ordered his master of the palace, on pain of excommunication, to see that the sermon delivered before him did not exceed half an hour; and in the month of November, 1517, being wearied with a long discourse, he desired his master of the ceremonies to remind the master of the palace, that the council of the Lateran had decided, that a sermon should not exceed a quarter of an hour at most. In consequence of which remonstrances there was no sermon on the first day of the year 1518; the master of the palace being fearful that the preacher would exceed the prescribed limits."[12]

This celebrated, but irreligious pontiff, died after a short illness, on December 1st. 1521; not without suspicion of having been poisoned; but most probably from a fever, brought on by excess of joy, at the unexpected success of the papal armies against France.

(11) Roscoe's Life of Leo the Tenth, IV. pp. 468, 469.
See also Jortin's Life of Erasmus, I. pp. 237. 261. Lond. 1808, 8vo.

(12) Roscoe's Life of Leo the Tenth, IV. ch. xxiv. p. 489, *note.*

The impression and publication of the POLYGLOTT PSALTER of GIUSTINIANI, or JUSTINIAN, and the COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOTT BIBLE of Cardinal XIMENES, which were respectively dedicated to Leo, eminently distinguished his pontificate. On this subject, the learned author of the *Succinct Account of Polyglott Bibles* has the following remarks: "The taste that prevailed early in the sixteenth century, for the cultivation of literature, was partly the cause of, and partly owing to, the publication of the Sacred Writings in different languages. Certain men, in whom were providentially united a taste for sound learning, together with ecclesiastical influence, and secular opulence, determined to publish, first, PARTS, and then the WHOLE of the Sacred Writings, in such languages as were esteemed the learned languages of the universe. These were, principally, *Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldee,* and *Syriac;* others of less importance were added to them. Such publications attracted general attention, and became greatly studied. Hence the taste, not only for Sacred literature, but universal science, became widely diffused; and the different nations of Europe seemed to vie with each other in the publication of those works, which have since obtained the denomination of POLYGLOTTS, i. e. 'books in *many languages.*"[13]

The first in order of publication was the POLYGLOTT PSALTER of Giustiniani, or Justinian, bishop of Nebbio, or Nebio, in the island of Corsica. The title of his work was, "PSALTERIUM, HEBRAICUM, GRÆCUM, ARABICUM, ET CHALDEUM, CUM TRIBUS LATINIS INTERPRETATIONIBUS ET GLOSSIS; and we learn from the colophon, that it was printed at Genoa, 1516, by Peter Paul Porrus, in the house of Nicolas Justinian Paul. It is in folio. A preface is prefixed, dated Genoa, Cal. Aug. 1516, addressed by Justinian to Leo X. It is divided into eight columns, of which, the

(13) Dr. A. Clarke's Succinct Account of Polyglott Bibles, *Introd.* Liverpool, 1802, 8vo.

1st. contains the Hebrew; the 2nd. Justinian's Latin Translation, answering word for word to the Hebrew; the 3rd. the Latin Vulgate; the 4th. the Greek; the 5th. the Arabic; the 6th. the Chaldee Paraphrase in Hebrew characters; the 7th. Justinian's Latin translation of the Chaldee Paraphrase; the 8th. Latin scholia, or notes.[14]

On the 19th. Psalm, v. 4. "Their words are gone to the end of the world," Justinian has inserted, by way of commentary, a curious sketch of the life of Columbus, and an account of his discovery of America, with a very singular description of the inhabitants, particularly of the female native Americans; and in which he affirms, that Columbus frequently boasted himself to be the person appointed by God, to fulfil this prophetic exclamation of David. But the account of Columbus, by Justinian, seems to have displeased the family of that great navigator, for in the life of Columbus, written by his son, (see Churchill's Coll. of Voyages, &c. vol. II. p. 560,) he is accused of falsehood and contradiction; and it is even added, 'that considering the many mistakes and falsehoods found in his history and Psalter, the senate of Genoa has laid a penalty upon any person that shall read or keep *it*,* and has caused it to be carefully sought out in all places it has been sent to, that it may by public decree be destroyed, and utterly extinguished."[15] After all, the mistakes of Justinian most probably arose, not from design, but from incorrect information.

The *Arabic* in this Psalter was the first that ever was printed; and the Psalter itself, the first part of the Bible that ever appeared in so many languages.

Justinian undertook this work with the expectation of considerable gain, hoping thereby to assist his indigent

(14) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, ed. Masch, pt. i. cap. iii. sec. 25. p. 400.
(15) Beloe's Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books, I. pp. 109—111; and III. pp. 69. 76, 77.

* Qu. The *History* or *Psalter*?

relatives, but was miserably disappointed. His original intention, he informs us, in the account of himself prefixed to his *Annals of Genoa*, was to give to the public a similar *Polyglott* edition of the whole Bible. "I had always imagined," says he, "that my work would be eagerly sought after, and that the wealthy prelates and princes would readily have afforded me every assistance necessary for printing the rest of the Bible, in such a diversity of languages. But I was mistaken, every one applauded the work, but suffered it to rest and sleep; for scarcely was a fourth part sold, of the 2000 copies which I had printed, exclusive of 50 more copies printed upon vellum, which I had presented to all the kings in the world, whether Christian or Pagan." He, nevertheless, completed the MS. of the *New Testament*, a great part of which he wrote with his own hand; Sixtus Senensis says he had seen the Polyglott MS. of *The Four Gospels* thus written, and also decorated by himself. After completing the MS. of the *whole* of the New Testament, he engaged in a similar compilation of the Text and Versions of the Old Testament; conceiving, as he said, "that his time could not be better employed, than in the study of the holy Scriptures."[16]

AUGUSTIN JUSTINIAN, or according to his Italian name, AGOSTINO GIUSTINIANI, was born at Genoa, 1470. He entered at an early age into the order of St. Dominic, and enjoyed the advantages of good masters, and an excellent library. For many years he devoted himself entirely to study, except what time was occupied in the duties of instruction, from which he obtained permission to retire, in 1514, that he might apply solely to the preparing of the *Pentaglott Bible* for the press, and to the studies necessarily connected with so important a design.

(16) Simon, Lettres Choisies, III. pp. 109. 111. Amsterd. 1730, 12mo. Fabricy, Titres Primitifs, I. p. 194.
Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. lib. iv. p. 251.

He published his PENTAGLOTT PSALTER, as a specimen of the work, in 1516, but being disappointed in the patronage he had too ardently expected, relinquished the project of *printing* the rest of the Bible. Leo X. promised him greater promotion than the bishoprick of Nebbio, to which he had been previously raised, but never fulfilled the engagement. Happily, about the same time Francis I. king of France, to whom the bishop of Paris had recommended Justinian, as a man of learning and merit, invited him to Paris, and bestowed on him a pension of 300 crowns, with the titles of counsellor, and almoner. He remained five years at the court of Francis, and during that period published various works; and visited England and Flanders, returning by way of Lorraine, where he was received, and liberally entertained, by the reigning duke Anthony, and his brother the cardinal.

Whilst at Paris, he taught the Hebrew language, as professor; and also published a Latin translation of the *Moreh Nebochim* of *Maimonides*, which he dedicated to his friend and patron Stephen Poncher, bishop of Paris. A copy of this work is in the possession of the present writer. It is a beautiful thin folio, printed by Jodocus Badius Ascensius. The title-page is inclosed in a curious ornamented border, and decorated with the vignette-device of the printing-press of Ascensius. The running title is executed with a beautiful Gothic type; the text is in the Roman character; and the capital letters with which the chapters commence, are fine specimens of the initial letters on dotted grounds, especially the large R and D with which Justinian's dedication, and Maimonides's preface, respectively begin. The dedication and colophon both bear date A. D. 1520. This translation has generally been considered as the work of Justinian himself; but F. Simon says, he merely edited an old version which had been long in existence, and to which Aquinas and Bradwardine have referred, and of which he himself had seen a copy, written in a neat hand.

From Paris, Justinian returned into Italy, to visit his diocese, but with the intention of revisiting France, the king having promised him a rich benefice. These hopes were, however, blasted by the war breaking out between Leo and Francis. After his return to Italy he compiled his *Annali di Genova*, or History of Genoa, in Italian, to which he prefixed the account of his life, particularly of his publication of the Pentaglott Psalter. He likewise, with the permission of the pope, presented his valuable library to the republic of his native city. This collection contained about a *thousand* volumes of the most valuable and rare works, obtained from the most distant foreign parts, forming, at that time, as he assures us, a library almost without a parallel in Europe. In the accumulation of these literary treasures, he had been greatly aided by the commercial facilities afforded by the maritime city of Genoa. Among the works thus presented to the republic, was included the *MS.* of his *Polyglott New Testament*, written with his own hand. From a letter addressed by the Abbé Poch to Gabriel Fabricy, we learn that the *MS.* is probably still preserved.

This very learned Dominican perished in a storm at sea, together with the vessel which was conveying him from Genoa to Nebbio, in the year 1536.[17]

The famous COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOTT, published subsequently to Justinian's Psalter, was commenced in 1502, under the auspices of Cardinal XIMENES, archbishop of Toledo, who spared no expense, either in procuring MSS. or in recompensing the editors for their trouble. Esprit Flechier, bishop of Nismes, in his *Histoire du Cardinal Ximènes*, gives the following account of this important edition of the Holy Scriptures:

"The archbishop seeing the great corruption of man-

(17) Simon, Lettres Choisies, III. pp. 107—111.
Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. lib. iv. p. 251.
Fabricy, Titres Primitifs, II. p. 294.

ners that reigned even among the chief ministers of the church, dreaded the attempts of enemies to spread false doctrines, by captious interpretations of the Old and New Testament, which, whilst they dazzled the simple, might appear unanswerable to the learned. For this reason, he undertook a new edition of the Bible, containing, for the Old Testament, the Hebrew Text, the Vulgate Latin, the Greek of the Septuagint version, with a Latin translation, and the Chaldee Paraphrase, with a similar Latin interpretation;—for the New Testament, the Greek Text, and the Vulgate. To these was added a volume, explaining the meaning of Hebrew words and idioms, highly esteemed by those who are intimately acquainted with the language."

"This most difficult undertaking required the influence and perseverance of a patron like the cardinal. He immediately procured the assistance of the most eminent scholars, Demetrius of Crete, a Greek by birth, Anthony of Nebrissa, Lopez Stunica, and Ferdinand Pintian, professors of the Greek and Latin languages; Alphonsus, a physician of Alcala, Paul Coronel, and Alphonsus Zamora, noted for their skill in the Hebrew tongue, having formerly taught that language among the Jews, but who having renounced Judaism, and embraced Christianity, had given proof of extraordinary erudition and genuine piety. To these he explained his design, promised to bear the whole expense, and granted them liberal pensions. He urged upon them the necessity of diligence: 'Hasten, my friends,' said he, 'lest I fail you, or you fail me, for you need a protection like mine, and I need assistance like yours.' By these, and similar exhortations, and by the liberal encouragement afforded them, they became assiduous in their labour, and incessantly applied to the work, till the whole was completed."

"He caused diligent inquiry to be made for manuscript copies of the Old Testament, in order that the

faults of former editions might be corrected, corrupted passages be restored, and obscure and doubtful expressions be explained. Pope Leo X. favoured him with MSS. from the Vatican Library, frequently praised his magnificence and generosity, and even consulted him in the most important occurrences of his pontificate. For fifteen years the work was continued without interruption; and it is equally astonishing, that neither the long and tedious application wearied the constancy of the learned editors, nor that the oppressive cares which devolved on Ximenes, relaxed either his zeal, or his affection for this undertaking."

"He obtained *seven* Hebrew MSS. which cost him four thousand crowns of gold, independent of the *Greek* MSS. sent him from Rome; or the *Latin* ones in Gothic characters, brought from foreign countries, or procured from the principal libraries of Spain, every one of which was at least *eight hundred* years old. The whole charge of the work, including the pensions of the editors, the wages of the transcribers, the price of books, the expense of journeys, and the cost of the impression, amounted, according to the calculations that were made, to more than *fifty thousand* crowns of gold."

"This great work, which had occasioned so much care and expense, being at length completed, Ximenes dedicated it to Leo X. either to testify his gratitude, or, because all works which regard the explanation of Scripture, are suitably inscribed to the sovereign pontiff.- - - - When the last volume was brought him he hastened to receive it, and suddenly raising his hands and eyes to heaven, exclaimed "I thank thee my Saviour Jesus Christ, that before I die, I see the completion of what I most earnestly desired." Then turning to some of his friends who were present he said to them; "God has favoured me with success in things which to you have appeared to be great, and which probably have contributed to the public good; but

there is nothing on which you ought to congratulate me so much, as this edition of the Bible, which opens those sacred sources from which a purer theology may be drawn, than from those rivulets, from whence, in general, it is sought."[18]

This Bible is divided into six parts, and comprised in four volumes folio. The *New Testament* was printed in 1514, as appears from the following subscription at the end of the *Revelation*, transcribed from a copy in the Collegiate Library at Manchester: "Ad perpetuam laudem, et gloriam dei et domini nostri iesu christi hoc sacrosanctum opus novi testamenti et libri vite grecis latinisq; characteribus noviter impressum atq; studiosissime emendatum: felici fine absolutū est in hac præclarissime Cōplutensi vniversitate: de mandato et sumptibus Reuerendissimi in christo patris et illustrissimi dñi fratris Francisci Ximenez de Cisneros tituli sancte Balbine sancte Romane ecclie presbyteri cardinalis hispanie Archiepi toletani et Hispaniar̄ primatis ac regnor. castelle archicancellarii: industria et solertia honorabilis viri Arnaldi gulielmi de Brocario artis impressorie magistri. Anno domini Millesimo quingentesimo decimo quarto. Mensis ianuarii die decimo."

This was succeeded in the month of May, in the same year, by a *Hebrew and Chaldee Vocabulary*, and other tracts, designed for the assistance of the student in the oriental tongues. The *Old Testament* was printed in 4 parts, and completed in 1517, but the cardinal dying soon after the work was finished, and doubts being started by the church of Rome, whether it was proper to bring it into general circulation, it did not receive the permission of Leo X. for its publication, until the 22nd. of March 1520; and the copies were not distributed to the world at large before the year 1522.[19]

(18) Flechier, Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes, I. liv. i. pp. 175—179. Amsterdam, 1693, 12mo.

(19) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, edit. Masch, pt. i. cap. iii. pp. 337, 338. Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. ch. xii. sec. 1, p. 432.

A small number, (it is thought not more than four,) were printed on vellum. One of these is said to be in the Vatican Library; another in the Escurial; and a third was lately purchased at the sale of the Mac-Carthy Library, by Mr. G. Hibbert, for £640.[20] The rest of the copies, of which only six hundred were printed, were upon paper. The price affixed to the work, by the bishop of Avila, by order of the pope, was *two golden ducats and a half*; or about *forty livres* of French money; a considerable sum at that period.[21]

Francis Ximenes de Cisneros, the munificent patron of the Complutensian edition of the Bible, and the most celebrated statesman of his day, was born at Torrelaguna, an obscure town in Spain, in 1437. At his baptism he received the name of Gonsalez, but on entering the order of St. Francis, exchanged it for that of the founder of the order. He received the first rudiments of his education at Alcala, and afterwards studied the civil and canon law at Salamanca, and made such proficiency in it, that in a short time he was able to support himself by teaching it to others. He did not, however, suffer his legal pursuits to interrupt his course of general study, but continued his application to science, and especially to sacred literature, till he had acquired the usual accomplishments of the students of that period. He then returned to his father; but to avoid being chargeable to his parents, resolved to visit Rome, and endeavour to obtain ecclesiastical promotion. He was twice robbed by the way; and was detained by his misfortunes, at Aix, in Provence, where he exercised the office of consistorial advocate, by which means his great abilities became partially known, and his prospects brightened. Hearing, however, of the death of his father, and the consequent distress of his mother and family, he determined to return

(20) Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron, III. p. 169.
(21) Calmet, Dict. de la Bible, p. iv. Paris, 1722, fol.

into Spain. Having secured the papal bull to take possession of the first vacant benefice, he returned home, and was scarcely arrived, before the archpriest of Uceda died, and he entered upon the living. But his right to the benefice was contested by the archbishop of Toledo, who designing it for one of his almoners, threw Ximenes into prison. At length he was liberated, at the request of the countess of Büendia, and permitted to enjoy his ecclesiastical preferment; but unwilling to be under the influence of a prelate who had treated him with so much severity, he exchanged his present situation for one in the diocese of Siguenza. Cardinal Gonzales de Mendoza, the bishop, appointed him to the office of grand vicar, and distinguished him by the confidence he reposed in him. Whilst at Siguenza, he gained universal approbation and respect; and by his influence with John Lopez de Medina, archdeacon of Almazan, persuaded him to found a university at Siguenza. Whatever time he could possibly spare from the claims of official engagements, he dedicated to literary occupation: he learned the Hebrew and Chaldee tongues; and diligently devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures. At this period he appears to have laid the foundation of that Biblical knowledge, for which he was afterwards so eminently distinguished; and so deep was the impression made upon him by the perusal of the Inspired Volume, that he lost all relish for the acquisition of other science, so much so, that he used to say to his friends, that he would willingly exchange all his learning in the law, for the explanation of a *single* passage of Scripture.

The anxieties of office, and the embarrassments of secular affairs, becoming insupportable, he resolved to assume the monastic habit. This he did by entering among the Franciscans, at Toledo. After passing through the usual course of exercises, he made a profession in 1483, in his forty-sixth year, and was admitted a member of the order.

By the permission of his superiors, he withdrew to a small convent in the neighbourhood of Toledo, called *Castagnar*, from being situated in the midst of a grove of chesnut trees. Here he practised extraordinary austerities, and generally passed part of the day in the wood, studying the Scriptures, sometimes on his knees, and sometimes prostrate on the ground; at other times he spent several days together in a cabin, raised with his own hand, on the top of a mountain covered with trees. His devotion and talents attracted the attention of the most illustrious characters of his country, and, recommended by the Cardinal de Mendoza, the queen, Isabella, chose him for her confessor, in the year 1492, and the 55th of his age, to which he reluctantly yielded, on condition of never removing with the court. By common consent the chapter of his order elected him provincial; and after refusing for six months, he, by order of the pope, occupied also the archbishoprick of Toledo. On his elevation to this dignity, instead of displaying a love of pomp and grandeur, he continued the austere and simple habits of monastic economy, yet discovering such a knowledge of public affairs, and exercising such prudence and decision in the regulation of his extensive archiepiscopal government, as rendered the fame of his wisdom equal to that of his sanctity. He provided for the poor; visited the churches and hospitals; established parochial registers, in which were entered the names of all the children baptized, of their fathers and godfathers, of those who were present at the baptism, with the year, month, and day, on which the ceremony was performed; reformed abuses; degraded corrupt judges, and placed in their room, persons distinguished by their probity and disinterestedness. He ordained, that on every Sunday and holiday each curate should, after high mass, explain the Gospel, in a plain, instructive manner, and in the evening after Complin, teach the principal articles of the Christian doctrine,

providing them, for this purpose, with Catechisms, and other helps for instruction.

With the design of promoting the religious education of youth, and of introducing into the church, pious and well disciplined characters, he founded the college of St. Ildephonsus, at Alcala de Henarez, (anciently called *Complutum.)* This academy, or university, erected about A. D. 1500, soon became famous: and the celebrated *Complutensian Polyglott Bible,* which issued from it, under the patronage and at the expense of the founder, has rendered its fame perpetual.

The expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and the endeavour to convert the Mohammedan inhabitants who remained, called forth the vigorous talents of the archbishop, who laboured with success to subject them in profession to the church of Rome; though his refusal to permit vernacular translations of the Scriptures, was undoubtedly a prejudice to the sincerity of their conversion.

During his residence at Toledo, he repeatedly visited the library of his cathedral, in which many MSS. were deposited, venerable from their antiquity, and valuable from their contents. Among the number which he examined, in order to obtain assistance in his designs, he met with several ancient volumes, written in Gothic letters, which led him to re-establish the *Gothic,* or *Mozarabic* offices, or liturgy, which had formerly been held in the highest veneration in the kingdom of Castile.

He employed Dr. Ortiz, a canon of the church of Toledo, and two others of the same city, to publish an edition of the Mozarabic Breviaries and Missals, and distributed among the ecclesiastics and churches a vast number of copies, and even founded a magnificent chapel, in the cathedral of Toledo, that the Mozarabic liturgy might be constantly used.*

* The history of this liturgy is curious. In the sixth century, the Visigoths occupied almost all Spain, under the empire of Honorius. As

In 1506, he was appointed regent of the kingdom of Castile; in 1507, Pope Julius II. created him cardinal of Spain, and soon afterwards received the office of inquisitor general, the inquisition having been established in the kingdom, in 1477, by F. Thomas de Torquemada, of the order of St. Dominic, and prior of the convent of Saint-Croix, in Segovia. An excellent historian has thus drawn the character of Ximenes, as the regent of Castile: "His

---

they were Arians, they created confusion in the public worship of the kingdom, associating novel with ancient practices and forms. But this nation having abjured their heretical opinions, and embraced the orthodox faith, through the instructions of Leander, archbishop of Seville, it was ordained by the fourth council of Toledo, that all the churches should adopt the same forms of prayer, missals, and public Psalters; and St. Isidore, the successor of Leander, was charged with the care of carrying the decree of the council into effect. This practice continued for about 120 years, till the Moors, having ravaged the country, and defeated the Spanish army, became masters of the kingdom. In this general calamity, the royal city fell into the hands of the barbarians, who permitted the Christians to retain their profession, and allowed them six churches for the maintenance of their public worship. Many of the catholics fled from their native country, rather than submit to the yoke of foreign authority, but others of them remained, and were denominated, from being *mixed* with the *Arabs* or Moors, *Mistarabes;* or *Mozarabes,* from *Moza,* the name of the Moorish general. These continued the use of St. Isidore's offices for near 400 years, not only in the royal city itself, but in other cities of the kingdoms of Toledo, Castile, and Leon.

Alphonsus VI. having, after a long siege, expelled the Moors from Toledo, ordered the *Roman* missal to be adopted, instead of the ancient one of St. Isidore, in all the churches where the latter had been in use. This was opposed by the clergy, nobility, and people, who urged the antiquity of their liturgy, and the authority by which it had been established. The dispute became so warm that, at last, it was agreed, according to the genius of the age, to terminate the contest *by single combat!* The king chose one knight, as the champion of the *Roman* Office; and the people and clergy another, as the defender of the *Toletan* Missal; the combatants met, and the latter proved victorious. But Alphonsus refused to submit to the decision, and another mode of divining the intention of heaven was suggested. Fasts, and public processions were appointed, a great fire was kindled, and whilst the king and people repeated their prayers, a copy of each of the missals was thrown into the flames, the Toletan escaped, and the Roman was burnt! The king then yielded permission to use the Toletan Missal, in those ancient parishes of the kingdom of Toledo, where the inhabitants had preserved their attachment to Christianity, under the government of the infidels, but forbade it in all others. See Flechier, *Histoire du Card. Ximenes,* I. liv. i. pp. 182. 186.

political conduct, remarkable for the boldness and originality of all his plans, flowed from his real character, and partook both of its virtues and its defects. His extensive genius suggested to him schemes vast and magnificent. Conscious of the integrity of his intentions, he pursued these with unremitting and undaunted firmness. Accustomed from his early youth to mortify his own passions, he shewed little indulgence toward those of other men. Taught by his system of religion to check even his most innocent desires, he was the enemy of every thing to which he could affix the name of elegance or pleasure. Though free from any suspicion of cruelty, he discovered, in all his commerce with the world, a severe inflexibility of mind, and austerity of character, peculiar to the monastic profession, and which can hardly be conceived in a country where that is unknown."[22]

His political engagements did not, however, divert his mind from that which lay near his heart, the prosperity of the university of Alcala. He invited the most learned men from different parts of Europe; appointed them as professors of different sciences; richly endowed the whole establishment; made ample provision for its future prosperity; provided for the education of poor scholars; repaired the church of Alcala; and founded an extensive hospital and infirmary; in a word, he omitted nothing that might conduce to the welfare of the students, or promote the interests of religion and Sacred literature.

After exercising the high office of Regent, with a vigour and capacity, seldom or never equalled, for about twenty months, leaving it doubtful whether his sagacity in council, his prudence in conduct, or his boldness in execution, deserve the highest praise, he died after a short and violent illness at Bos Equillos, as he was hastening to meet the newly proclaimed king Charles, at Valladolid. His death occurred on Sunday, the 8th. of November, 1517,

(22) Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. II. B. i. p. 30.

in the 81st. year of his age; but whether occasioned by poison, or the ingratitude of the young king, is disputed. His dying words were, "In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded."[23]

After this outline of the life of the munificent *patron* of the Polyglott of Complutum, or Alcala, the reader may justly expect some notice of the learned editors of the work.

DEMETRIUS DUCAS was by birth a Greek, a native of Crete, and a teacher in the university of Alcala. He published an edition of the "Greek Liturgies of Chrysostom, Basil the Great, &c." Rome, 1526.[24]

ANTHONY of *Nebrissa, (*or *Lebrixa*), a town of Spain, was born in 1444. After having laid the foundation of learning by the knowledge of grammar and dialectics, he studied mathematics, physics, and ethics, at Salamanca, where he continued for five years; from whence he passed into Italy, and acquired the knowledge of the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages. In 1473, he returned into Spain, and was patronized by Alphonsus Fonseca, bishop of Seville, under whose auspices he opened a school for the restoration of the purity of the Latin tongue, which for nearly a thousand years had been obscured, or corrupted, by the conquests of the Vandals and Moors. He resided in the family of his patron during the three years that he governed the school. On the death of the bishop, he removed to Salamanca, and obtained a double stipend as lecturer on both grammar and poetry, being the first to introduce the rules of art in the composition of the vernacular poetry of Spain. Whilst he was thus studiously endeavouring to raise the standard of the literary attainments of his countrymen, he met with violent opposition from the adherents to scholastic subtilties, and barbarous modes of instruction; he therefore quitted Sala-

(23) Flechier, Histoire du Card. Ximenes, *passim*.
Barrett's Life of Cardinal Ximenes, *passim*. Lond. 1813, 8vo.
(24) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. *Index*. I.
Clarke's Bibliographical Dictionary, IV. p. 276.

manca in 1488, irritated by disrespect, and wearied with the fatigues of a laborious profession; and accepted a proposal from John Stunica, the military prefect of Alcantara, to come and reside in his family. A handsome salary was allowed him, and during the period of his residence with the prefect, he employed his leisure in composing a Spanish and Latin Dictionary, and various grammatical works. In the mean time, one of the professors of the university of Salamanca dying, Anthony was chosen to succeed him, almost without a competitor. In this situation he remained till 1504, when King Ferdinand, who highly esteemed him, sent for him to court, and employed him as the historiographer of his reign. He was afterwards employed by Cardinal Ximenes, in the correction and arrangement of his *Polyglott Bible*; and chosen as the first professor of the university of Alcala, where he resided till his death, which happened suddenly, by apoplexy, July 2nd. 1522, in the 78th. year of his age.

Beside the *Spanish Dictionary*, printed at Alcala, (or Complutum) 1532, and frequently since; and the *Memoirs of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, printed at Granada, 1545; he was the author of several theological, critical, and grammatical works, most of which have been printed.[25]

James Lopez Stunica was a learned Spaniard, eminently skilled in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages. On the publication of Erasmus's edition of the Greek Testament, accompanied with a Latin translation and notes, Stunica wrote violently against them, and strenuously defended the Vulgate, even its corruptions and barbarisms. As he began to write against Erasmus whilst Cardinal Ximenes was living, the cardinal wisely advised him to send his remarks first, in manuscript, to Erasmus, that he might suppress them if Erasmus

(25) Antonii Biblioth. Hispan. I. pp. 104—109.
Cavei Hist. Lit. sæc. xv. App. pp. 174, 175.

gave him satisfactory answers. But Stunica was too vain and haughty to listen to the conciliatory counsel of his patron; and happening one day to find some person reading the New Testament of Erasmus, he said to him in the presence of the cardinal, that he wondered how he could throw away his time upon such *trash*, and that the book was full of monstrous faults. The cardinal immediately replied; "Would to God that all authors wrote such trash! Either produce something better of your own, or give over prating against the labours of others." This rough, and probably unexpected answer, made Stunica suppress his work till after the death of the cardinal; when he published a book against the Annotations of Erasmus; who replied to it. Afterwards he drew up another work, more severe and virulent than the former, which he called *The Blasphemies and Impieties of Erasmus*. Leo X. to whom Erasmus had dedicated his New Testament, forbade Stunica to publish any thing defamatory and scurrilous against his antagonist; and after the death of Leo, the cardinals, and Adrian VI. laid the same commands upon him. Yet the book was secretly printed, and then published. This also was answered by Erasmus. Some time after, Stunica attacked him again; and Erasmus replied in 1529; and in 1530, Stunica died.

He also wrote against Jacques le Fevre, usually called Faber Stapulensis, who had published a Latin version of the *Epistles of St. Paul*, accusing him of mistranslations, and defending the Vulgate against his remarks and corrections.

Beside these works, he published an *Itinerarium*, or account of his journey to Rome from Alcala. He died at Naples.[26]

FERDINAND NONNIUS, or NUNNES DE GUSMAN PINTIAN, a learned Spaniard, noted for his skill in the Oriental lan-

(26) Jortin's Life of Erasmus, I. pp. 246, 247.
Lempriere's Universal Biography, art. "Stunica."

guages, was professor of Greek and Latin in the university of Alcala, and a knight of the military order of St. James of Compostella. He died in 1552.[27]

Of ALPHONSUS, a physician of Alcala, all that is known is, that he was a converted Jew, possessing an accurate and extensive knowledge of the Hebrew tongue.[28]

PAUL CORONEL was a converted Jew of Segovia, in Spain. Before he embraced Christianity, he had taught Hebrew amongst those of his own nation, and was learned not only in the Oriental, but also in the Greek and Latin languages. His learning and abilities, united to his knowledge of Christian theology, recommended him to the notice of Cardinal Ximenes, who employed him in his celebrated Biblical work, and of which he is said to have written the *Hebrew Lexicon*, that accompanies it. He is also reputed to have written *Additions* to Nic. de Lyra's book, *De differentiis translationem;* but which were never printed. Prior to his residence at the university of Alcala, he had filled the important situation of professor of the Holy Scriptures, in the university of Salamanca. He died at Segovia, September 30th, 1534.[29]

ALPHONSUS ZAMORA was born at Zamora, of Jewish parents, and educated in the knowledge of every kind of Hebrew and Rabbinical learning. Previous to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, by Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1492, he governed their public schools. After embracing the Roman Catholic system of Christianity, he was selected by Cardinal Ximenes as a suitable person to be employed in editing his celebrated Bible, who for this purpose granted him a handsome stipend. In this work he was employed during fifteen years. In the catalogue

(27) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. p. 11 ; et *Index Auctor.* p. 573.
(28) Le Long, *ut sup.*
(29) Antonii Biblioth. Hispan. II. p. 127.
Colomesii Italia et Hispania Orientalis, p. 218. Hamburg, 1730, 4to.
Wolfii Biblioth. Heb. I. et III. No. 1813. Hamb. et Lips. 1715. 1727, 4to.

of works written by Alphonsus, Nic. Antonio mentions the following:

Vocabularium Hebraicum atque Chaldaicum veteris Testamenti; to which are annexed, *Interpretationes Hebraicorum, Chaldeorum, Grecorumque nominum veteris ac novi Testamenti.*

Catalogus eorum, quæ in utroque Testamento aliter scripta sunt vitio scriptorum, quàm in Hebræo et Græco in quibusdam Bibliis antiquis.

Introductiones Artis Grammaticæ Hebraicæ.

These form one of the volumes of the Complutensian Polyglott; and were the second volume that was printed. But Colomesius (Ital. et Hispan. Orient. p. 218) quotes a work of Stunica's against Erasmus, (in cap. vii. Ep. ad Hebræos,) in which he attributes the *Vocabulary,* or *Lexicon,* to Paul Coronel.

Alphonsus was also the author of several other erudite grammatical and philological works, particularly, a shorter, easier, and more lucid *Hebrew Grammar,* than the one annexed to the Polyglott, begun under Cardinal Ximenes, and completed under Alphonsus Fonseca, successor to the cardinal in the archiepiscopal see of Toledo. It was printed at Alcala, by Michael de Eguia, 1526, 4to. with the title, *Artis Grammaticæ Hebraicæ Introductiones.*

He translated into Latin, the *Chaldee Paraphrases* of *Onkelos* on the *Pentateuch; Jonathan* on *Joshua, Judges, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel,* and the *Twelve minor Prophets;* and *R. Joseph,* the Blind, and others, on *Job, Proverbs, Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes,* and *Lamentations.*

Le Long also mentions him as the author of a *Hebrew* version of the *Epistle to the Hebrews,* accompanied with a Latin translation; but Marsh remarks, that it was only an epistle written by himself to the Jews, in Hebrew and Latin, to confute their sentiments, and to convince them of the truth of Christianity; which agrees with the list

of the works written by Alphonsus, given by Nic. Antonio in the *Bibliotheca Hispana*, in which we find no notice of any translation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, but only of an Hebrew and Latin Epistle to the Jews residing at Rome: "Epistola, quam misit ex Regno Hispaniæ ad Hebræos, qui sunt in Urbe Romana ad reprehendum eos in sua pertinacia, hebraicè olim scripta, hic tamen Hebraicis Latinâ interpretatione interlineari adjuncta." He died in 1530.[30]

Beside the editors already named, Alvarez Gomez, who wrote the life of Ximenes in 1560, says that JOHN DE VARGARA, a learned Spaniard, doctor of divinity and professor of philosophy in the university of Alcala, was engaged in preparing for the press, the books termed *Libri Sapientiales*, viz. Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus." Vargara died in 1557.[31]

Such was the patron, and such were the editors, of the famous Complutensian edition of the Scriptures; a work which, if defective, from the imperfect state of sacred criticism at that period, deserves, nevertheless, the highest praise, as a noble attempt to create attention to the Original Texts of the Divine Oracles; and may justly be regarded as the parent of those more perfect and immense compilations, which have been made since, of the original texts and most important versions.

Another great and important work, sanctioned and patronized by Pope Leo X. was the *Latin translation of the Bible*, by SANCTES PAGNINUS. This was the *first* version of the Scriptures from the *Original Texts*, after the revival of literature in the West. Pagninus, in the preface to his Bible, informs us, that Leo being made acquainted with his design of translating the Old and New

(30) Antonii Biblioth. Hisp. I. p. 45. Rom. 1672, fol.
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. pp. 83. 303, 304. 462. 465. Paris, fol. 1723.
Ibid. edit Masch; pt. ii. vol. I. sec. 1. p. 13.

(31) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. pp. 11. 310. et *Index. Auctor.*

Testament from the Hebrew and Greek originals, he sent to him, and requested to be allowed the inspection of his work. After examining several sheets, he was so satisfied with it, that he immediately ordered that the whole should be transcribed at his own expense, and gave directions that materials should be provided for printing it. A part of it was accordingly executed, but the unexpected death of the pontiff retarded its completion. After the decease of Leo, he removed, first to Avignon, and then to Lyons, where the work was first printed, in 1528, in 4to. by Anthony du Ry, at the expense of his kinsmen Franciscus Turchus, and Dominicus Bertus, citizens of Lucca, and Jacobus de Giuntis, a bookseller of Florence. "This version was the work of twenty-five years, and has been greatly extolled both by Jews and Christians, particularly the Old Testament, as the best Latin version that ever was made from the Hebrew, that of Jerom not excepted;" yet some critics have considered the translation to be too literal, and chiefly useful as a grammatical glossary, and illustrative of the Hebrew idiom. In the translation of the New Testament he was less successful than in the Old, and has too generally adopted the Jewish modes of expression. Though finished in 1518, it was not printed, as we have seen, till 1528, when it was published with the approbation of the Pope; and with the bulls of Adrian VI. and Clement VII. prefixed to it. To the translation of the Bible, he added a *Table of the Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek names*, contained in the Scriptures, with their derivations and meanings. This was the first Latin Bible in which the verses of each chapter were distinguished and numbered.[32]

Sanctes Pagninus, or according to the Italian,

(32) Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. lib. iii. pt. ii. pp. 473—480.
Fabricy, Titres Primitifs, II. pp. 152—156.
Geddes's Prospectus, pp. 74, 75.
Whittaker's Historical and Critical Enquiry into the Interpretation of the Heb. Scriptures, p. 19. Camb. 1819, 8vo.

SANTE PAGNINI, was born at Lucca, in 1466, and afterwards became an ecclesiastic of the order of St. Dominic. He was accurately skilled in the Latin, Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and Chaldee tongues; yet was supposed to excel particularly in the Hebrew. He diligently applied himself to a comparison of the Vulgate Bible, with the original Texts, and believing it either not to be the translation of Jerom, or greatly corrupted, undertook to form a new version, which he effected with great credit, producing a translation, which has been, in a great measure, the model of all succeeding Latin versions.

Beside the translation of the Bible, Pagninus was the author of several other valuable works; the following are particularly deserving notice:

"Thesaurus Linguæ Sanctæ, seu Lexicon Hebraicum, printed at Lyons, 1529, fol." "*Institutiones Linguæ Hebraicæ;* Lyons, 1526, 8vo." "*Isagoge ad mysticos S. Scripturæ sensus;* Lyons, fol. 1536." In this work he explains cabalistically, the principal part of Job, and Solomon's Song, and the whole of the 7th. chapter of the 1st. Epistle to the Corinthians. "*Catenæ Argenteæ;*" or commentaries compiled from the Fathers and others, on the Pentateuch and Psalms.

He died at Lyons, in 1541, (or according to Le Long, in 1536,) and was buried there. A marble monument was raised to his memory, in the choir of the church of the Dominicans.[33]

SACRED LITERATURE revived with the general cultivation of science and letters; the Oriental languages were more extensively known and studied; and the Holy Scriptures began to be regarded as the purest source of theology and ethics; and though profound ignorance, and depravity, of manners still reigned generally in the church, many of the clergy deemed it their duty to acquaint

(33) Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. lib. iv. p. 375.
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, II. pp. 890. 1178, 1188. Paris, 1723.

themselves with the original languages; and several rose to considerable eminence as Biblical critics and expositors. The pursuits of Oriental and Sacred learning extended to the laity, and there were not wanting scholars among them, whose extent of information, and critical research, placed them in the foremost rank of theological students and authors. To the names of learned ITALIANS already noticed, we may add those of Cardinal CAJETAN; THESEUS AMBROSIUS; FELIX PRATENSIS; and ALDUS MANUTIUS.

Cardinal CAJETAN, whose proper name was THOMAS DE VIO, was born in 1469, at Cajeta, a town in the kingdom of Naples, from which he assumed the surname of *Cajetan*. Entering into the order of St. Dominic, he rose successively to be general of his order, archbishop of Palermo, and at length cardinal and legate. He was employed in various negociations with foreign powers; but is chiefly distinguished by his opposition to Luther; and by his *translation of the principal part of the* BIBLE. Sent by Leo X. to suppress the rising influence of Luther and his friends, he displayed all the subtilty and imperiousness of the Romish legate; so that even Erasmus described him as a furious, imperious, and insolent ecclesiastic. We are, therefore, not surprised to learn that his legatine authority proved utterly inadequate to silence the intrepid reformer, or to stop the progress of the Reformation. But whilst we detest his unhallowed conduct as the legate of the pope, we regard him with respect, when, as the minister of the sanctuary, we find him studying the Sacred Volume, and labouring to transfuse the invaluable truths of Scripture, into a literal translation of the Word of God. Of this version of the Scriptures into *Latin*, Dr. Geddes gives the following account: "The famous Cardinal de Vio Cajetan, who, amidst a multiplicity of state affairs, found means to devote a part of every day to serious study, left behind him, among other

laborious productions, a translation of a great part of the Bible. As he was totally ignorant of the Hebrew, he employed two learned persons, a Jew and a Christian, as his interpreters; and having a sound judgment, and discerning taste, he succeeded much better than could be expected. But his version was formed on this erroneous principle, that a translation of the Scripture cannot be too literal; should it even for that reason be unintelligible. This prepossession made him judge unfavourably of the Vulgate, which he often censures without reason; for which cause some zealots have unjustly taxed him with heresy. His translation has much the same faults with that of Pagninus; and may be of much the same use to the Hebrew student. It was printed with his *Commentary*, at Lyons, in the year 1639." The books of Scripture contained in this translation, were those of the *Pentateuch*, *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Kings*, *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Job*, the *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, and the three first chapters of *Isaiah*. These, with his commentary, form five volumes in folio. The *Psalms* were printed separately, at Venice, 1530, fol. accompanied with the Vulgate version. At the commencement he explains his mode of translation.

A list of the rest of his works may be found in Freher's *Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum*, pars I. pp. 27, 28, Noriberg. 1688, fol. He died August 10th. 1534.[34]

Theseus Ambrosius, or according to his Italian name, Teseo Ambrogio, one of the first oriental scholars of his day, and regular canon of the Lateran, was of the noble family of the Conti d' Albonese, and born at Pavia, in 1469. He visited Rome in the year 1512, at the opening of the fifth session of the Lateran council, which commenced under Julius II. and was continued under Leo X.

(34) Freheri Theatrum, pt. i. pp. 27, 28,
Geddes's Prospectus, p. 78.
Jortin's Life of Erasmus, I. p. 260.
Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. ii. vol. III. cap. iii. sec. 1. pp. 490. 528.

till 1517. In the eighth session of this council, a decree was passed against those who denied the immortality of the soul; and the fourth canon ordained, that "all those who were in holy orders, after the time employed in grammar and logic, should spend five years more in studying philosophy, without applying themselves to divinity, or canon law." In the tenth session it was decreed, that "for the future, no books should be printed at Rome, nor in any other city or diocese, under pain of excommunication, without being first examined; at Rome, by the vicar of his holiness, and the master of the sacred palace; and in the other cities, by the bishop of the diocese, or some doctor of divinity nominated by the bishop; and being signed by them as approved."

The great number of ecclesiastics from Syria, Ethiopia, and other parts of the East, who attended the council, afforded Ambrogio an opportunity of prosecuting his studies with peculiar advantage; and at the request of the cardinal, Santa Croce, he was employed as the person best qualified to translate from the Chaldee, or Syriac, into Latin, the liturgy of the Eastern clergy, previously to the use of it being expressly sanctioned by the pope. After having been employed by Leo X. for two years, in teaching Latin to the sub-deacon Elias, a legate from Syria, whom the pope wished to retain in his court; and from whom Ambrogio received, in return, instructions in the Syriac tongue, he was appointed by the pontiff to the chair of a professor, in the university of Bologna, where he delivered instructions in the Syriac and Chaldee languages, for the first time that they had been publicly taught in Italy. He is said to have understood at least ten different languages, many of which he spoke with the ease and fluency of a native.

In the commotions which devastated Italy, after the death of Leo X. he was despoiled of the numerous and valuable Eastern MSS. which he had collected at great

expense, and by the industry of many years, and also of the types and apparatus which he had prepared for an edition of the PSALTER in the *Chaldee*, which he intended to have accompanied with a dissertation on that language. This, however, did not dispirit him so as to cause him to lay aside his studies, for in the year 1539, he published at Pavia, an "Introduction to the Chaldee, Syriac, Armenian, and ten other tongues; with the alphabetical characters of forty different languages;" which is considered by the Italians themselves, as the earliest attempt made in Italy, towards a systematic acquaintance with the literature of the East. This work was printed with the types, and at the expense of Ambrogio, as appears from the title of the work: *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam, atque Armenicam, et decem alias linguas. Characterum differentium Alphabeta circiter quadraginta, &c.*" 1539, 4to. "*Excudebat Papiæ, Joan. Maria Simonetta Cremon. in Canonica Sancti Petri in Cælo aureo, sumptibus et typis authoris libri.*"[35]

FELIX PRATENSIS, a native of Prata, in Tuscany, was of Jewish extraction. After his conversion to Christianity, he entered the order of Hermits of St. Augustin. For many years he was successfully employed in instructing, and preaching to the Jews, which occasioned him to be denominated *the scourge of the Hebrews*. In 1515, he translated and edited an edition of the PSALTER, from the Hebrew, published by the celebrated Dutch printer, Daniel Bomberg, printed at Venice, in 4to. and dedicated to Pope Leo X. From the preface to this Psalter we learn, that this work formed but a small portion of the design expressed to Leo, by Felix, who meditated a translation of the whole of the Old Testament. But the

(35) Roscoe's Life of Leo the Tenth, II. ch. xi. pp. 396. 399.
Dictionnaire Portatif des Conciles, pp. 275. 284.
Colomesii Italia et Hispania Orientalis, pp. 37, 38.

design does not appear to have received the approbation of Leo, for whose inspection, and with whose consent, this portion was printed; it was, therefore, most probably dropped, though Wolfius says, he translated JOB, and some other books of the Bible. The version of the Psalms he completed in only fifteen days.

He was also employed by Daniel Bomberg, in editing the *Rabbinical Bible*, printed at Venice in 1518, fol. This Bible contained not only the *Hebrew Text*, but also the *Commentaries* of several of the most eminent Jewish rabbis, the *Chaldee Paraphrases*, the *Masora*, *Tables of the Sections of the Law*, &c. and tracts on the *Various Readings*, &c. This Bible was dedicated to Leo X. A more complete edition of the *Rabbinical Commentaries* was afterwards given to the public, by the same printer, but by another editor, R. Jacob ben Chaim.

Felix died at Rome, November 5th, 1539, at nearly a hundred years old, and was buried in the church of St. Augustin.[36]

The ALDI were a family of eminent printers, who flourished in Italy, at the close of the fifteenth, and during the greatest part of the sixteenth century. ALDUS PIUS MANUTIUS, frequently called the elder Aldus, (to distinguish him from his grandson of the same name, who was also a celebrated printer,) and the first of these illustrious printers, was born about the year 1447, at Bassiano, a small town in the duchy of Sermonetta, in the vicinity of the Pomptine Marshes. His youth appears to have been spent at Rome, where he studied under the most eminent professors; and acquired that extensive information, which rendered him afterwards so admired as a Greek critic and grammarian. About the year 1488, he settled at Venice, with the view of establishing a printing office.

(36) Colomesii Ital. et Hist. Orientalis, p. 19.
Wolfii Biblioth. Heb. I. et III. No. 1835.
Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. p. 461.
Le Long. edit. Masch, pt. i. ch. i. sect. ii. pp. 96—99.

He it was, who, observing the many inconveniences arising from the vast number of abbreviations, which were at that time in use among the generality of printers, first contrived an expedient whereby these abbreviations were entirely removed, and yet books thereby but little increased in bulk. This he performed by introducing what is now called the *Italic* letter, though formerly the *Aldine*, from the name of its inventor; and sometimes *Cursive*, from its form. The senate of Venice, and the Popes Alexander VI. Julius II. and Leo X. granted him the exclusive use of his newly invented character for fifteen years; but the Lyonnese printers disgraced themselves by their endeavours to counterfeit his invention, and by the publication of pirated editions of the classics edited by him. "He combined the lights of the scholar with the industry of the mechanic," so that while he gave the most sedulous attention to his printing office, he carried on a very extensive correspondence with the literati of Europe, explained the classics to a numerous auditory of students, and also found time to compose various works, which are characterised by profound learning and critical skill. Conscious that his single labours were inadequate to the diffusion of literature, he assembled round him a circle of the most learned men of the age, some of whom lived in his house, and were entirely supported by him. Among other works which he projected for the benefit of literature, was that of a *Polyglott Bible* in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*; of which, however, he executed only *one specimen page* in folio, which is now preserved in the Royal Library at Paris. The *first* printed edition of any *part* of the GREEK TESTAMENT, was executed by him at Venice, in 1504. It contained the first six chapters of ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL; and was appended to an edition of the "Poems of Gregory Nazianzen." He also procured MSS. and made preparations for an edition of the OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT in *Greek*, but was prevented from

completing his design by his death, which happened in 1515, or 1516. It was afterwards printed in 1518, in fol. *min.* by his father-in-law and partner, Andrea Turresano d' Asola. He was succeeded by his third son, *Paulus Manutius*, born in 1512; whose younger son Aldus, born in 1547, carried on the business till his own death, in 1597; when the family of these learned printers terminated, after having been, for more than a century, the glory of literature and typography. To the elder Aldus alone, the world is indebted for the *editiones principes*, or *first printed editions*, of twenty-eight Greek classics; beside which, there are few ancient authors of note, of whom he did not publish editions of acknowledged accuracy, and (as far as the means of the art, then in its infancy, permitted) of great beauty; yet his modesty was such as led him to say, that, far from regarding the flatteries of such as praised his works, he could not himself affirm, that he had published so much as one book, with which he saw cause to be satisfied. To his zeal and taste in publishing the works of the best Greek authors, must chiefly be attributed the preference which has long been shewn to the study of Greek literature.[37]

Of the success of Biblical Literature in SPAIN, at the commencement of this century, some notice has been already taken, in the account of the POLYGLOTT BIBLE of Cardinal Ximenes. To what has been there stated, it may be added, that in 1512, the EPISTLES and GOSPELS for the whole year, as read in the churches, were published in SPANISH, by AMBROSE DE MONTESIN, a Spanish Franciscan friar, bishop of Sardinia. They were reprinted at Antwerp, 1544, in 8vo.[38]

---

(37) Clarke's Bibliographical Dictionary, I. p. 48.
Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, I. p. 242—244. 249. and II. App. No. vii. p. lx.—lxxx.
Le Long, edit. Masch, II. pt. ii. sec. i. p. 265; and App. Supp: and Emend. p. 8.

(38) Le Long, I. p. 363; et *Index. Auctor.* 571. Paris, 1723.

In the same year (1512,) the archbishop of Seville, D. Didaco Deza, held a provincial council, or synod, in which it was ordained, that "the parish priests should instruct their parishioners in the mysteries of the holy Catholic faith; and should place in each of their churches, tables containing the Articles of the Christian belief, and the Ten Commandments." It was also further enjoined, that "they should persuade the people to practise the *seven* works of mercy; explain the dominical lessons; admonish their parishioners to acquaint themselves with the general confession, and the ecclesiastical prayers, as the *Pater-Noster*, *Credo*, and *Salve Regina*; and enforce the repetition of those prayers in the church. And all ecclesiastical and secular persons were forbidden to instruct their scholars in other things, or to teach them to write, under pain of excommunication, unless they first knew the prayers and contents of the tables."[39]

The Constitutions of Cardinal Mendoza also decreed, that the care of transcribing missals should be committed to the sacrist, and that five missals should be written every year for the respective chapels, on account of the great deficiency which then existed of those liturgical works, and for which an annual stipend should be allowed to the sacrist under whose directions and at whose cost, the missals should be copied.[40]

Archbishop DEZA, who summoned the synod, was a Spaniard by birth, and a friar of the order of St. Dominic. He was the author of a "Defence of St. Thomas (Aquinas) against the replications of Matthias Dorinck;" and of a "Monotessaron," or Harmony of the Evangelists. He died in 1525.[41]

In 1513, the book of JOB, with the *Morals* of Gregory

(39) Collectio Maxima Conc. Hisp. IV. p. 3.
(40) Ibid. IV. p. 31.
(41) Le Long, II. p. 699.

the Great, were translated out of the Latin into *Spanish*, by ALPHONSUS ALVAREZ, of Toledo.[42]

The dreadful persecutions which had been raised against the Jews, and the edicts in 1492 and 1496, by which 600,000 persons were expelled from Spain and Portugal, drove many of the refugees to Constantinople, where they established a printing office, from which several *Hebrew* works of importance afterwards issued. In 1505, the PENTATEUCH was printed in HEBREW and CHALDEE, accompanied with *Rabbinical Commentaries*; and again in 1506, in fol. or 4to. The Jews also established a press at Thessalonica, at which the book of JOB in *Hebrew*, with a *Syriac* commentary written in 1506, was printed in 1517; as the PENTATEUCH and *Targum* with *Rabbinical commentaries* had been the preceding year. Other portions of the Hebrew Scriptures, were likewise in different years printed at each of these places.[43]

Returning to examine the state of Sacred literature in FRANCE at this period, the Biblical labours of JACOBUS FABER *Stapulensis* are particularly deserving of notice. This learned man published in 1509, in fol. a *Quintuple Latin* PSALTER, containing, beside the four versions, called the *Italic*, *Roman*, *Gallican*, and *Hebraic*,* a fifth, or amended edition of the *Gallican*. This edition of the *Psalter* appears to have been a work of considerable attention and labour, since we find that for the old, or *Italic* version, he made use of a most valuable *MS.* copy written with gold and silver letters upon purple parchment, in uncial characters, in folio; supposed to have been part of the spoils of the city of Toledo, obtained by Childebert I. king of the Franks, about A. D. 542, and afterwards to

(42) Le Long, I. *Index. Auctor.* p. 542.

(43) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, edit. Masch. pt. i. cap. i. sec. 2. p. 123. Append. Supp. pp. 8. 10, 11.
De Rossi, De Ignotis—Editionibus, cap. x. xi. xiii. &c. App. Erlang. 1782.

* See vol. I. p. 367, of this work.

have been made use of by St. Germanus, bishop of Paris, who died in 576.[44] Faber accompanied the Psalter with short notes, which, from the sentiments expressed in them, subjected him to the suspicion of being tainted with heretical pravity; and occasioned the Psalter, which was more than once reprinted, to be placed in the *Index Expurgatorius*, or list of prohibited books.[45] He is also supposed to have been the author of a FRENCH version of the PSALMS, printed in 1525, in 8vo. at Paris, by Simon de Colines; * to which were subjoined the contents or *Arguments*, in which he is said to have introduced his peculiar views of religion, similar to those of the Reformation; and is farther mentioned as the *French* translator of the SONG OF SOLOMON, though with less certainty. He likewise published *Commentaries* on the *Four Gospels*, and the *Epistles of St. Paul*. To the latter was prefixed an *Apology*, intended to prove that the Latin translation, every where read, was not that of Jerom. His *Commentary on the Four Gospels*, was printed at Meaux, in 1522, in fol. His method is to exhibit, first the Latin Text of this edition, and then to explain it, correcting at the same time those passages which he believes to be incorrectly translated. As he principally takes the *Greek* for his guide, he has added asterisks and obelisks to mark what is redundant, or what is wanting, in the Latin, after the example of Origen in the Greek. His *Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul* was written in the abbey of St. Germain des Prez, and printed in folio, 1512. The *Vulgate* being authorized throughout all the Western churches, he printed it with this commentary, but annex-

(44) Le Long, I. p. 243. Paris, 1723, fol.

(45) Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. ii. vol. III. cap. i. sec. 9. p. 13.

* The following prices affixed to works printed by this printer, may shew the value of books at the time:

"Vetus Testamentum, minora formâ, 1525, 12mo.—24 sous.
Novum Testamentum, min. form. 1525, 12mo.—6 sous.
[Dibdin's Bibliog. Decameron, II. p. 79.]

ed a new translation from the *Greek*. A *Commentary on the General Epistles* was published by him in 1527, printed at Basil, in fol.; and Frisius has noticed a *Commentary* by him, on *Ecclesiastes*.[46]

But undoubtedly his greatest and most important work was the translation into FRENCH of the whole of the NEW TESTAMENT, printed at Paris in 1523, in 8vo: by Simon de Colines; the GOSPELS in June; the EPISTLES OF PAUL, the CATHOLIC, or GENERAL EPISTLES, and the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, in October; and the REVELATION, in November. The work was published without the translator's name; but with a prefatory epistle, defending the translation. Another edition was printed in two volumes, 8vo. by Simon de Colines, in 1524;—a third was published the same year, but without the name of the printer, or the place where it had been printed; a fourth in 1529, &c.[47]

The publication of the *Psalter*, and especially of the *New Testament*, caused a violent persecution to be raised against Faber, by the doctors of the Sorbonne, so that after having been expelled from the faculty of theology at Paris, he was obliged to fly from France; and for some time resided at Strasburg, under a feigned name. F. Simon says, that he was encouraged in the publication of his work, by certain powerful friends at the court of Francis I.

The *Prefatory Epistle* was prefixed to the second volume, or part of the New Testament, under the title of *Epistre exhortatoire à tous les Chrestiens et Chrestiennes*. In this epistle he praises *Jean de Rely*, dean of St. Martin of Tours, and bishop of Angers, for his revision of Guiars des Moulins' translation of Comestor's *Historia*

(46) Le Long, I. cap. iv. pp. 333. 335; et II. p. 719. Paris, fol. Simon's Critical History of the Versions of the N. T. pt. ii. ch. xxi. p. 178.

(47) Le Long, I. pp. 335, 336. Jortin's Life of Erasmus, I. p. 90.

Scholastica, in 1487; but complains that the French Bibles which had preceded his version of the New Testament, were full of faults, and corrupted by additions and retrenchments. The following is a specimen of his reasoning in defence of his translation:

"Who is there, therefore, but will esteem it proper, and conducive to salvation, to have the New Testament in the vulgar tongue? What is more necessary to life, whether temporal or spiritual? If in the different religious orders, they ordain, that if any one be ignorant of Latin, he shall have the *Rules* of his order in the vulgar tongue, carry it about him, and commit it to memory; and in their respective *Chapters* frequently explain their *Rules* to them; with how much more reason ought the unlearned among Christians to possess the Word of God, the Scripture full of grace and mercy, which is their *rule*, and which alone is necessary, for only one thing is needful. This Holy Scripture is the Testament (last Will) of Jesus Christ, the Testament of our Father confirmed by his death, and by the blood of our Redeemer; and who is he that shall forbid the children to have, and see, and read their father's will? It is, then, highly expedient to possess it, and read it, and hear it, not only once but often, in the *chapters* of Jesus Christ, which are the churches, where all the people, unlearned and learned, ought to assemble, to hear and honour the Word of God. And such is the intention of our gracious king, who in heart as well as name, is Most Christian, in whose hand God has placed so noble and excellent a kingdom, to the glory of the Father of mercy, and of Jesus Christ his Son;—a design which ought to inspire all in the kingdom with courage to advance in true Christianity, by following, understanding, and believing, the quickening Word of God. And blessed be the hour when it shall be accomplished; and blessed be all those, both male and female, who shall procure it to be carried into effect, not only in

this kingdom, but through all the world."

The great objection against Faber's translation was, that it promoted the Reformation in France, which had been begun by Luther in Germany; and which was characterized by the partizans of popery, with the epithet of *Novelties*. "These *Novelties*," says F. Simon, "were agreeable to the taste of some lords and ladies of the court. J. LE FEVRE, (Faber,) who edified the world by his exemplary life, gave great influence to these Novelties. His erudition was very great for the time in which he lived; and his amiable manners gained him the esteem and love of every one. Almost the only enemies he had, were his own confraternity, the doctors of Paris. The famous *Noel Beda*, the sworn enemy of the *Belles Lettres*, openly declared himself against him and Erasmus; and the faculty of theology at Paris was at that time so opposed to vernacular translations of the Bible, that in the same year, (1523,) they censured this proposition, 'Omnes Christiani, et maxime clerici sunt inducendi ad studium Scripturæ sanctæ, qnia aliæ doctrinæ sunt humanæ, et parum fructuosæ:' 'All Christians, but especially the clergy, ought to be persuaded to study the Holy Scriptures, because other learning is human, and productive of but little good.' This permission, said this faculty, would renew the errors of the *Poor Men of Lyons*, (Waldenses,) which had been already condemned. The following are the express terms of the censure, taken from the registers of the Sorbonne: "Hæc propositio secundum primam partem, laicos quoscumque ad studium sacræ Scripturæ et difficultatum ejusdem esse inducendos sicut et clericos, ex errore pauperum Lugdunensium deducetur." This decree was afterwards authorized by an edict of parliament in 1525, confirming a censure of these theologians, against a *French* version of the *Office of the Holy Virgin*. In this edict, it is expressly affirmed,

(48) Simon, Lettres Choisies, IV. Lettre xv. p. 95.

that *it is neither expedient nor useful for the Christian public, that any translations of the Bible should be permitted to be printed; but that they ought rather to be suppressed as injurious, considering the times.* The terms in which the faculty of theology expressed the censure were these: "Post maturam omnium magistrorum deliberationem, fuit unanimi consensu dictum et conclusum, quod in sequendo conclusiones dudum per ipsam factas, neque expediens est neque utile reipublicæ Christianæ, imo visâ hujus temporis conditione potius perniciosum, non solum translationem Horarum, sed etiam alias translationes Biblicæ, aut partium ejus, prout jam passim fieri videntur, admitti, et quod illæ quæ jam emissæ sunt supprimi magis deberent." These doctors designed this censure to be retrospective, and to extend to those versions of the Scriptures which had been previously published; and as no *French* version had yet been published by the French Calvinists, these different edicts, when speaking of the unhappiness of the times, can only refer to what was regarded as the *heresy* of Luther. On this very account, the parliament of Paris, in a decree against the doctrine of Luther, made in 1525, subjoins these words: "The said court has ordained, and does ordain, that it shall be enjoined by the king's authority, that all persons who have in their possession the books of the *Song of Solomon*, the *Psalms*, the *Revelation*, the *Gospels*, the *Epistles of St. Paul*, and other books in the Old and New Testament contained in the Holy Bible, which have been lately translated out of Latin into French, and printed; and also a printed book, containing the *Gospels* and *Epistles for Sundays*, and other solemnities for the whole year, with certain *Exhortations* in French; shall bring them and deliver them up within eight days from the publication of this decree." This last work was supposed to be the production of Faber and his disciples; and the *Exhortations* were every where filled with declamations against

any thing being preached to the people but the Gospel. The work was designed for the use of the churches at Meaux.[49]

The exile of Faber, which had been occasioned by the persecution of the doctors of the Sorbonne, did not continue long; for although Francis I. was captive in Spain, he was informed, by his sister Margaret, of the treatment which Faber had received, and wrote in his favour to the parliament of Paris, by which means he was enabled shortly after to return again to France.[50]

This great man, who is usually called JACOBUS FABER STAPULENSIS, latinizing his name and the place of his birth, JACQUES LE FEVRE of *Estaples*, was born about A D. 1435. He travelled into foreign countries in quest of knowledge, and is said to have "seen not only Europe, but also Asia, and a part of Africa." Being chosen professor of the belles lettres and philosophy, in the university of Paris, he endeavoured, with some success, to introduce into the schools, something more solid than the trifling studies of the scholastic doctors, especially an acquaintance with the learned languages. In 1517, he had a dispute with Erasmus, respecting the quotation from the second Psalm, in Hebrews. ii. 7, which Erasmus had translated *Thou hast made him for a little time lower than the angels;* but which Le Fevre contended ought to be translated, according to the Hebrew, *Thou hast made him a little lower than God.* As they were friends, the debate was carried on with some civility, and soon dropped; leaving their friendship undiminished. In 1523, he left Paris and went to Meaux, where William Briçonet, the bishop, a patron of learning and of learned men, chose him for his grand vicar. This prelate being suspected of favouring Lutheranism, and persecuted on that account, Le Fevre was obliged to quit his service, for fear of being

(49) Simon, Lettres Choisies, IV. Let. xv. pp 95—107.
(50) Sleidan's Hist. of the Reformation, B. v. p. 98. Lond. 1689, fol.

involved in the same calamity. After having spent some time in Germany, he returned to Paris, and became preceptor to Charles, duke of Orleans, the third son of Francis I. Margaret, queen of Navarre, sister to Francis I. honoured him with her protection, and invited him to Nerac in 1530, where he died in 1537.

Like Erasmus and some others, he continued in communion with the Church of Rome, whilst he seriously disapproved of her doctrines and practices. He is even said to have taken a journey to Strasburg by the queen of Navarre's order, to confer with Bucer and Capito, concerning the doctrines of the reformers. Some remarkable circumstances relative to his death, which have been told by Catholic historians and others, ought not to be omitted. On the day of his death, being apparently as well as usual, while dining with the queen and some learned men whom this princess frequently invited to spend the day with her, Le Fevre appeared pensive and melancholy, and was observed to shed tears. The queen desired to know what was the cause of his sadness; he answered, "I am distressed because of the enormity of my crimes. I am now a hundred and one years of age; and though I have lived a chaste life, and have been preserved from those excesses into which many are hurried by the violence of their passions, yet I have been guilty of this heinous offence—I have known the TRUTH, and have taught it to many who have sealed it with their blood, and yet I have had the weakness to hide myself in those places where the crowns of martyrs are never distributed." Having said this, he dictated his will *vivâ voce*, went and lay down on his bed, and died in a few hours![51]

The translation of the *New Testament* into *French*, by Le Fevre (Faber,) was made from the Latin, and was the first Catholic French translation, in which the Sacred

(51) Clarke's Bibliog. Dict. III. pp. 226—228.
Jortin's Life of Erasmus, I. pp. 90. 391; and II. p. 240.

Text was purely given, former ones being generally made, not from the Text, even of the Vulgate, but from Comestor's legendary *Historia Scholastica*. Le Fevre's translation was several times reprinted, and from the opposition of the Catholic doctors, was sometimes printed without either the author's or printer's name. Le Long supposes that the anonymous translations placed in the *Index Librorum prohibitorum* of 1551, were Le Fevre's. The titles are thus given under the head of French books, *ab incertis auctoribus:*

"Les saintes Evangiles de Jesus Christ;—et au commencement une Epistre exhortatoire qui sent la doctrine de Luther.

"Les saintes Evangiles de Jesus Christ;—au commencement il y a une Epistre Lutherienne."

Both his *French* PSALTER and NEW TESTAMENT were prohibited so early as 1528, by the provincial synod of Beziers, in France, in the following terms:

"Moreover, this Synod decrees, that no books of the Lutheran heresy, or sectaries, nor any of the books of Scripture which have been translated out of Latin into the vernacular tongue, either of late, or eight (or rather five) years ago, shall be sold or bought, except they have been examined by the ordinary of the place, under pain of being punished as offenders."[52] Such were the efforts of the Gallican clergy to prevent the circulation of the Word of God, in the language of their countrymen; and such *has been* the *general* policy of the Romish hierarchy, and such is still its practice,

> While truths on which eternal things depend,
> Find not, or hardly find, a single friend.

At this dark and melancholy period, ENGLAND presents a picture equally dreary with that of France. In a *Catalogue* of the books belonging to Leicester abbey, in 1492, and which included what was, for that day, an extensive

(52) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. cap. iv. p. 335. Paris, 1723.

library; the following are the only copies of the Scripture which are noticed:

"BIBLIE, defect' et usit'.
Each book of the Old Testament glossed.
Evangelia glossata.
Historiæ de Bibliâ in Gallico.
5 Psalteria abbreviata.
Psalterium."

On this scanty list, the learned and indefatigable historian of Leicester excellently remarks, that "from this catalogue it seems rather doubtful, whether in the library of this religious house, there might be any one complete collection of all the Holy Scriptures. Supposing *Biblie*, in the first article, to have included both the Old and the New Testaments, it was a tome defective and worn. The second consisted of each book of the Old Testament only; and the third of the Gospels, without any mention of the Acts of the Apostles, of the Epistles, or of the Apocalypse. There is, however, a *separate* mention of "Actus Aplor' gloss', Apocalyps' gloss', Eple Pauli* gloss', Eple Canonice," and among the last occurs the "Canticus Canticorum." Perhaps there might be some of those Augustin monks, to whom the Divine Oracles in the learned languages would have been of little use; and yet to these was not indulged a translation, there being in the consistorial acts at Rochester, the minutes of a rigid process against the *Precentor* of the priory of that cathedral, for retaining an *English Testament*, in disobedience to the general injunction of Cardinal Wolsey, to deliver up these prohibited books to the bishops of the respective dioceses."

"A. 1528, Jan. 15. In palatio Roffens', coram ipso reverendo patre, comparuit personaliter Dr. Will. Mafelde, monachus et precentor in eccles' Castr' Roffens' nota-

* "No other of the Epistles of the New Testament occur, save those of St. Paul."

tus, quod, post publicationem factam in civitate predictâ quod unusquisque sancta Dei Evangelia in idioma nostrum translata apud sè servand' eidem reverendo patri inferrent, et traderent, sub pœnis in literis reverendi patris cardinalis contentis, idem Willūs hujusmodi libros post tempus per eundē rev' patrē limitat' apud se servavit et retinuit, &c."[53]

In the dioceses of London and Lincoln many persons suffered on account of their attachment to the Scriptures, and to the cause of truth. At Amersham, in Buckinghamshire, in the year 1606, thirty persons were burnt in the right cheek, and made to bear faggots by way of penance. "The cause was, that they would talk against superstition, and idolatry; and were desirous to hear and read the Holy Scriptures."[54] The register of the London diocese, during the episcopate of Richard Fitzjames, furnishes many other instances of persecution against those who were called Lollards, or followers of Wiclif. In 1511, Thomas Austy, Joan Austy his wife, Thomas Grant, John Carter, Christopher Ravius, Dionysia his sister, and Thomas Vincent, Lewis John, Joan John his wife, and John Web, were brought before the bishop, and accused of having "read and used certain English books, repugning the faith of the Romish church; as the *Four Evangelists;* Wiclif's *Wicket;* a book of the *Ten Commandments of Almighty God;* the *Revelation* of St. John; the *Epistles of Paul* and *James,* with other like." The persons thus accused were imprisoned, and through fear were led to abjure what were deemed their errors. In the same year, and by the same bishop, William Sweeting, and James Brewster, were burnt in Smithfield, in one fire, as relapsed heretics, having been formerly accused, and abjured; the first *charge* in the examination of William

(53) Nichols's Hist. and Antiq. of the County of Leicester, I. Append. No xvii. pp. 101—108. Lond. 1795, fol.

(54) Fox's Actes and Monumentes, I. p. 918.

Sweeting was, that he had had "much conference with one William Man, of Boxted, in a book which was called *Matthew*;" and James Brewster was charged with "having a certain little book of *Scripture*, in *English*, of an old writing almost worne for age, whose name is not there expressed;" and also with having "been five times with William Sweeting, in the fields, keeping beasts, hearing him read many good things out of a certain book. At which reading were also present, at one time, Woodroofe, or Woodbinde, a net-maker, with his wife: also, a brother-in-law of William Sweeting: and another time, Thomas Goodred, who heard, likewise, the said William Sweeting read." As James Brewster "could neither read nor write," his possessing a book of Scripture, that others might read to him out of it, was no small proof of his love to the Word of God, when it was prohibited under pain of such dreadful punishment.[55]

A still more atrocious act of villainous cruelty was exercised against Richard Hume, a merchant-tailor, of London, in 1514. Being brought before Bishop Fitzjames, he was examined on the charge of heresy, when among other articles of accusation, it was urged against him, that he had "in his keeping, divers English books, prohibited, and damned, by the law; as the *Apocalypse*, in *English*; *Epistles and Gospels* in *English*; *Wiclif's* damnable *Works*; and other books containing infinite errors, in the which he hath been long accustomed to read, teach, and study daily." After his examination he was remanded to the prison called the Lollard's tower; where, two days afterwards, he was found hanging, having been murdered by the chancellor, the sompner, or summoner, and the bell-ringer, as was fully proved before the coroner. But, to prevent, if possible, the discovery of the murder, and to blacken the character of the deceased, certain articles were selected from the *Prologue*

(55) Fox, II. pp, 10. 30. Lond. 1641, fol,

to his Bible, and ordered by the bishop to be read at Paul's cross; the last of which was, that in the *Prologue*, "he defendeth the Translation of the Bible and Holy Scripture into the English tongue, which is prohibited by the laws of our most holy church." After which a process was instituted against him, though already dead, in the bishop's court: and a definitive sentence of heresy given sixteen days after his death, by which his body was ordered to be burnt, which was accordingly done, in Smithfield, on the 20th. day of December, that same year.[56]

Persecution continuing to rage against those who read the Scriptures in English, and opposed the superstitions of the church of Rome, several were burned at the stake; others confined to monasteries, and condemned to live upon bread and water; and many sentenced to bear a faggot at the market cross, to be burned in the cheek, to repeat every Sunday and Friday what was called "Our Lady's Psalter," and "every one of them to fast, bread and ale only every Friday, during their life; and every Even of *Corpus Christi*, every one of them to fast, bread and water during their life, unless sickness unfeigned let the same." The honest martyrologist, Fox, who was indefatigable in his endeavours to obtain authentic information relative to these sufferers for the sake of the Gospel, has given a long list of the names of persons accused before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, in 1521, with the charges brought against them, extracted from the bishop's *register*. An enumeration of a few of the charges, will exhibit their nature.

Parties accused.	*Crimes objected against them.*
"Agnes Well, detected by her brother."	"For learning the Epistle of St. James, in English, of Thurstan Littlepage."
"J. Jennings, ser-	"These were detected for carry-

(56) Fox, II. pp. 13—25.

Parties accused.	*Crimes objected against them.*
vant to James Morden; George, servant of T. Tochel; Thomas Grey, servant of Roger Bennet."	ing about certain books, in English."
"Agnes Ashford, of Chesham, detected by James Morden."	"The cause laid to this Agnes was, for teaching this James the words following: 'We be the salt of the earth; if it be putrified and vanished away it is nothing worth. A city set upon an hill may not be hid. Ye teend not a candle and put it under a bushell, but set it on a candlestick, that it may give a light to all in the house. So shine your light before men, as they may see your works, and glorify the Father which is in heaven. No tittle nor letter of the law shall pass over till all things be done.' And five times he went to the foresaid Agnes, to learn this lesson: *Item*, that the said Agnes did teach him to say this lesson: 'Jesus seeing his people, as he went up to a hill, was set, and his disciples came to him; he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying: Blessed be the poor men in spirit, for the kingdom of heaven is theirs. Blessed be mild men, for they shall weld the earth.'* And twice he came to her to learn this lesson."
"Henry Milner."	"Counted for a great heretic, and learned in the Scripture."

* These quotations are evidently made from *Wiclif's Translation*, notwithstanding some trifling variations. See Baber's edition of Wiclif's *New Testament*, ch. v.

Parties accused.	*Crimes objected against them.*
"The Wife of Bennet Ward and her daughter."	"For saying that Thos. Pope was the devoutest man that ever came in their house, for he would sit reading in his book, to midnight, many times."
"John Phip."	"He was very ripe in the Scripture."
"John Phip."	"He was a reader, or rehearser, to the other."
"John Butler," (impeached by his own brother)	"For reading to him," (his brother,) "in a certain book of the Scripture, and persuading him to hearken to the same."
"John Barret, goldsmith of London, Joan Barret his wife, Joan his servant."	"Because he was heard in his own house, before his wife, and maid, there present, to recite the *Epistle of St. James:* which Epistle, with many other things, he had perfectly without book." "Also because Joan, his wife, had lent to John Scrivener, the *Gospel of St. Matthew* and *Mark:* which book he, (Scrivener,) gave to Bishop Smith."
"Durdant, by Stanes; Old Durdant; Isabel, wife of T. Harding; Harrop, of Windsor; Joan Barret, wife of John Barret, of London; Henry Miller, Stilman, Tailor."	"All these were accused, because at the marriage of Durdant's daughter, they assembled together in a barn, and heard a certain *Epistle of St. Paul* read: which reading they well liked, but especially Durdant, and commended the same."
"John Littlepage, Alice, wife of Thurstan Littlepage."	"Because he was said to have learned the *Ten Commandments* in English, of Alice, Thurstan's wife, in his father's house."

Parties accused.	*Crimes objected against them.*
"Robert Collins, and his wife; John Collins, and his wife."	"For buying a BIBLE, of Stacey, for *Twenty Shillings*!"*
"The Father of Robert Collins."	"This father Collins had been of this doctrine, from the year of our Lord 1480."
"Alice Collins, wife of Richard Collins."	"This Alice, likewise, was a famous woman among them, and had a good memory, and could recite much of the *Scriptures*, and other good books: and therefore when any conventicle of these men did meet at Burford, commonly she was sent for, to recite unto them the declaration of the *Ten Commandments*, and the *Epistles of Peter and James*." (Also,) "For teaching Joan Steventon, in Lent, the *Ten Commandments*," "Item, for teaching her the first chapter of St. John's Gospel."
"John Heron."	"For having a book of the *Exposition of the Gospels*, fair written in English."[57]

These are but a few of the many instances adduced by Fox, from the register of Bishop Longland, of persons accused and suffering, either in one way or other, for possessing, or reading, or hearing the Book of God; and for whose accusation husbands had been suborned against

* We may form some judgment of the price of this Bible, by observing, that in 1514, the daily wages of a master carpenter, mason, bricklayer, tyler, or plumber, were 6d. per day, without diet, from Easter to Michaelmas: other labourers 4d. per day. In 1513, oats were 2s. 4d. per quarter. In 1533, beef was ½d. per lb. mutton ¾d. per lb. fat oxen were sold for 26s. 8d. each; a fat lamb for 1s. (Chronic. Precios. pp. 116, 117. 162. 164.

(57) Fox, II. pp. 33—51.

their wives, wives against their husbands; children against their parents, and parents against their children; brothers against sisters, and sisters against brothers. "But the fervent zeal of those Christian days," remarks the honest writer, "seemed much superior to these our days and times, as manifestly may appear by their sitting up all night, in reading and hearing; also by their expenses and charges in buying of books in English, of whom, some gave *Five Marks*, some more, some less, for a book; and some gave a *Load of Hay*, for a few chapters of St. James, or of St. Paul, in English."

Beside these worthies, who embraced the sentiments of Wiclif, there were many learned men who continued in strict communion with the church of Rome, who, by their strenuous exertions in the cause of literature, and their preference of the Inspired Writings to the works of the scholastic writers, laid a foundation for the subsequent diffusion of Sacred truth, among the higher, and more erudite classes of society. Three of these, William Grocyn, William Latimer, and especially John Colet, deserve particular notice.

William Grocyn was born at Bristol, in the year 1442. He was educated in grammar learning at Winchester; and made perpetual fellow of New College, in 1467. In 1479, he was presented by the warden and fellows of that college, to the rectory of Newton-Longville, in Buckinghamshire. But as he still resided chiefly at Oxford, the society of Magdalen College made him their divinity-reader. In 1485, he was made a prebendary of Lincoln; and in 1488, quitted his reader's place, at Magdalen College, in order to travel into foreign countries. He was stimulated to this by the low state of learning in this kingdom, and by an ardent desire of higher attainments. In pursuance of this design he visited Italy, where he perfected himself in the Greek and Latin languages, under Demetrius Chalcondyles, a native of

Athens, and Angelo Politian, professor of the Greek and Latin tongues, at Florence.

Grocyn having completed his studies abroad, returned to England, and fixed himself at Exeter college, Oxford, in 1491, where he took the degree of bachelor in divinity. He was professor, or public teacher of Greek, at Oxford, about the time when Erasmus was there. Soon after, he removed to London, and then to the college of Maidstone, in Kent, where he was master. Erasmus owns great obligations to this man, who, by his generosity to his friends, reduced himself to straits, and was forced to pawn his plate to Dr. Young, master of the rolls, but the doctor returned it to him again, by his will, without taking either principal or interest. Erasmus represents him as one of the best divines and scholars of the English nation; and in several of his epistles speaks of him in a manner, that proves he cherished the most sincere regard for him, and entertained the highest opinion of his abilities, learning, and integrity.

An instance has been given, in a preceding chapter, of his candour and ingenuousness, in avowing the spuriousness of the *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica*, attributed to Dionysius, the Areopagite. Afterwards, when Dean Colet had introduced the custom of reading lectures, at his cathedral, upon some part or other of the Scriptures, he engaged Grocyn, as one of the most learned and able men he could meet with, to carry his design into effect.

He died at Maidstone, in the beginning of the year 1522, aged eighty, of a stroke of the palsy. He was buried in the choir of the church, at Maidstone. Dr. Linacre was the executor of his will, and residuary legatee; and his godson, William Lily, the grammarian, had bequeathed by it, a legacy of *five shillings!*[58]

William Latimer became fellow of All Soul's Col-

(58) British Biography, I. pp. 326—329.
Jortin's Life of Erasmus, I. p. 6, &c.

lege, at Oxford, in the year 1489. Afterwards he travelled into Italy, and settled for a time at Padua, where he greatly improved himself, particularly in the Greek tongue. Returning to England, he was incorporated master of arts, at Oxford, in 1513; and soon after had for his pupil, Reginald Pole, who became cardinal, and archbishop; and by whose interest, he is said to have obtained the rectories of Saintbury and Weston-under-edge, in Gloucestershire, and a prebendary of Salisbury.

When Erasmus was at Oxford, Latimer was serviceable to him in the study of the Greek tongue; and when he was preparing the second edition of his *Greek Testament* for the press, he begged his assistance, knowing him to be accurate in the language.

We have nothing extant of this learned man, he being, as we have his character by Erasmus, a man of more than virgin modesty, under which was veiled the greatest worth. He died very aged, and was buried in the chancel of the church of Saintbury. He was considered as one of the greatest men of that age; a master of all sacred and profane learning. Leland celebrates also his eloquence, judgment, piety, and generosity.[59]

JOHN COLET, the great and excellent dean of St Paul's, and whose history is intimately connected with that of Sacred literature, was born in London, in the year 1466. He was the eldest son of Sir Henry Colet, knt. who was twice lord mayor. His mother was a woman of great worth, and exemplary piety. "I knew in England" says Erasmus, "the mother of John Colet, a matron of singular piety. She had by the same husband eleven sons and eleven daughters; all of whom were torn away from her by death, except her eldest son; and she lost her husband far advanced in years. She herself, though arrived at her ninetieth year, looked so smooth, and was so

(59) British Biography, I. pp. 328, 329.
Jortin's Life of Erasmus, I. pp. 6. 9.

cheerful, that you would have thought she had never shed a tear, nor brought a child into the world; and if I mistake not, she survived her son, Dean Colet. Now that which supplied a woman with such a degree of fortitude, was not learning, but *piety towards God.*" To her instructions and example, her son, probably, was indebted for those religious impressions, which gave an early bias to his mind, in favour of a devout and holy life.

In 1483, our student was sent to the university of Oxford, where he spent seven years in the study of logic and philosophy, and then took his degrees in arts. He was well acquainted with the writings of Cicero; and read with great diligence the *Latin* translations of the works of Plato and Plotinus, the *Greek* not being at that time taught in any of our grammar schools; he also made considerable progress in the mathematics.

Having resolved to enter the church, he was presented, when but nineteen years of age, and only in the order of an acolythe, with the rectory of Denington, in Suffolk, by Sir William Knevit, knt. and his lady. He was also instituted to the rectory of Thyrning, in Huntingdonshire, on the presentation of his father, in 1490; which he resigned before the end of the year 1493.

In order to acquire a knowledge of the Greek language, and to improve and extend his acquaintance with the languages and sciences which he had already studied, as well as to enlarge the circle of his literary friends, he visited France and Italy. At Paris he associated with the celebrated Budæus, and with Deloine, and Robert Gaguinus, the historian. In Italy he contracted an intimacy with several learned foreigners, and several of his own countrymen, particularly Grocyn, Linacre, William Latimer, and William Lily. He was, also, during the time of his travels, presented to the prebend of Botevant, in the cathedral church of York; to this were added, a

canonry, in the church of Saint Martin's Le Grand, London, and the prebend of Good Easter, in the same church.

He appears to have returned from his travels in 1497; and on the 17th of December the same year, was ordained deacon, and priest a short time afterwards. He did not long continue with his friends in London, before he withdrew to Oxford, in order to prosecute his studies with greater success. In this situation, however, he was neither inactive nor useless. He gratuitously read public lectures in the university, by way of *Exposition on the Epistles of St. Paul:* and although he had not taken any degree in divinity, yet there was not, we are told, a doctor in divinity or law, nor abbot, nor any other dignitary in the church, but came gladly to hear him, and brought their books along with them. Others followed the example, and Dr. Knight assures us, that about this time it became "almost a custom, for men of distinguished parts and learning in that university, to set up voluntary lectures, by way of exposition and comment on some celebrated writer: to which the students would repair, more or less, according to the opinion they had of the men, and their performances. Among others, we are certain Mr. Thomas More read upon St. Austin's book *De Civitate Dei,* while a very young man, to a very great auditory. This exercise was also set on foot at Cambridge. We are told by a learned author, that Dr. Warner, afterwards rector of Winterton, in Norfolk, and who assisted Bilney at the stake, read there publicly. George Stafford read also a lecture in the same place, upon St. Paul's *Epistle to the Romans;* being probably induced thereto by the example more especially of Dr. Colet."

About this time Erasmus visited England, with whom Colet soon formed an intimate friendship; which he endeavoured to improve to a more accurate and critical knowledge of the Scriptures. With this design, he pro-

posed to Erasmus some doubts and queries, relative to certain obscure and difficult passages in the Epistles of St. Paul; but Erasmus, with that timid caution which so strongly marked his character, replied, "Since it is dangerous to dispute openly of these matters, I had rather reserve them for our private conversation, as fitter for word of mouth than writing." Colet also informed Erasmus, that it was his determination to banish, if possible, the wrangling of the scholastic divines, and restore those theological studies which were founded upon the Scriptures, and the primitive Fathers; and that for this end he had in Oxford publicly expounded the Epistles of St. Paul; and earnestly pressed him to undertake a similar public exposition of some part of the Old Testament, while he himself was employed in the New. Erasmus, however, declined the undertaking, but exhorted Colet to persevere in his laudable design, assuring him, that when he was conscious to himself of a sufficient degree of strength and ability, he would readily lend him assistance. This friendship was maintained to the close of life, and the correspondence of these two great men served to animate them in the pursuit of Biblical learning, in which they met with frequent and violent opposition, especially from the scholastic doctors, who were so enraged at any attempts to promote the study of the *Greek* tongue, that they could not forbear uttering invectives against it from the pulpit; and strove to suppress it by the cry of "HERESY!" Hence the proverb, CAVE A GRÆCIS, NE FIAS HÆRETICUS; FUGE LITERAS HEBRÆAS, NE FIAS JUDÆORUM SIMILIS; "TAKE CARE OF GREEK, LEST YOU BECOME AN HERETIC: AVOID HEBREW, LEST YOU BECOME LIKE JEWS." Standish, bishop of St. Asaph, and provincial of the Franciscans, in a declamation against Erasmus, styled him GRÆCULUS ISTE; which became for a long time afterwards the phrase for an *Heretic*, or one suspected of "heretical pravity."

This aversion to the study of every thing that tended to lessen the authority of the schoolmen, or to spread an acquaintance with the original Scriptures, obtained, during the whole of the reign of Henry VII. and the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. About the latter period, a preacher at Oxford declared openly, at St. Mary's, against the pernicious innovation of the Greek tongue; and raised such a ferment about it among the students, that the king, who was then at Woodstock, having been correctly informed by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Thomas More, and the learned Richard Pace, of the true cause of the commotion, sent his royal letters to the university, to allow and encourage that study among the young men. Not long after this, a divine, who was preaching at court, declaimed and railed violently against *Greek learning*, and *New Interpretations* of the Scripture. Richard Pace, (who afterwards succeeded Colet, as dean of St. Paul's,) was then present, and cast his eyes upon the king, to observe how he was affected with the discourse; and the king smiled upon Pace, in contempt of the invectives of the preacher. After sermon, Henry sent for the divine who had preached, and appointed a solemn disputation, at which he himself proposed to be present, for the purpose of debating the matter between the preacher opposing, and Mr. Thomas More defending, the use of the Greek tongue. When the appointed time came, More began with an eloquent apology, in favour of that copious and ancient language. But the divine, instead of replying to the arguments of More, fell upon his kness, and implored pardon of the king, for the offence he had given in the pulpit, endeavouring to excuse himself by saying, that "what he had done was by the impulse of the Spirit." "Not of the Spirit of Christ," rejoined Henry, "but of the spirit of infatuation." The king then asked him, whether he had read the writings of Erasmus, against which he had declaimed. To this he answered in the

negative. "Why then," said the king, "you are a very foolish fellow, to censure what you have never read." "I have read," said he, "something they call MORIA," (*Moriæ Encomium*, the Praise of Folly.) "Yes," replied Pace, "may it please your highness, such a subject is fit for such a reader." At last, the preacher, to bring himself off, declared that he was now better reconciled to the Greek tongue, because it was derived from the Hebrew. Upon which, the king, who was amazed at the ignorance of the man, dismissed him; but with an express charge, that he should never again preach at court.

In 1502, Colet was made prebendary of Durnesford, in the church of Sarum; and on the 20th of January, 1503—4, he resigned his prebend of Good Easter. In 1504, he took the degree of doctor in divinity. On the 5th of May, 1505, he was instituted to the prebend of Mora, in the cathedral church of St. Paul; and in the same year, and in the same month, without the least solicitation of his own, was raised to the dignity of dean of St. Paul's, on which occasion he resigned the vicarage of Stepney.

Dr. Colet soon began to distinguish himself in the important station to which he was now advanced. He restored and reformed the decayed discipline of his cathedral church, and commenced, what was there a novel practice, by preaching himself upon Sundays and solemn festivals. In this course of preaching, he did not restrict himself to single texts from the Gospel or Epistle for the day, but selected more general subjects, as the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Apostles' Creed*, and continued a series of discourses upon them till he had completed the discussion of the doctrines they maintained. His audience was usually crowded, and among his hearers were the principal courtiers and citizens. He also called in to his assistance other divines of learning and talents, amongst whom was William Grocyn, and John

Sowle, a Carmelite friar of an unblameable life, and a great admirer and preacher of the writings of St. Paul.

The frequent preaching of Dean Colet, in his own cathedral, stimulated some others to follow his example, particularly Dr. Collingwood, at Litchfield, who introduced the practice of preaching every Sunday, being the first and only preacher among all the deans of that cathedral. Before Dr. Colet reformed the practice, it had been usual, both in the universities and in the cathedral churches, for the public lecturers to read upon any other book than the Scriptures; but after he had himself read lectures upon St. Paul's Epistles, both in the university of Oxford and in St. Paul's cathedral, and retained several learned men, successively, to read these theological lectures in his church, for which he made them a generous allowance, he at last procured a settlement at St. Paul's for a similar lecture to be constantly read there, three days in every week.

These divinity lectures, and Dr. Colet's method of expounding the Scriptures, raised among the people an inquiry after the Sacred Writings, sunk into neglect by the metaphysical disputants, and the superstitious and ignorant clergy. This, together with the contempt which the dean expressed for the religious houses or monasteries, and the display which he made of their abuses, doubtless contributed to prepare the minds of the people for the Reformation, which, by the gracious Providence of God, soon afterwards took place. It is therefore no wonder that the bigots to popery considered him as an enemy, and attempted to stir up persecution against him. The ecclesiastics were stung to revenge, and a prosecution was commenced against him for heresy, in which Dr. Fitzjames, bishop of London, was the principal agent. The main charges exhibited against him to Archbishop Warham, were *three;* the *first* of which was, that he had taught that images were not to be worshipped; the *second,* that he had

preached against the temporal possessions of the bishops; and the *third*, that he had preached against the cold and unaffected manner in which some men read their sermons, which was understood to reflect upon the bishop himself. But the archbishop, who knew and valued the integrity and worth of Colet, became his advocate and patron, and dismissed him without giving him the trouble of a formal answer. Tyndal, in his Reply to More, adds, that the bishop of London would have made Colet an heretic, for translating the *Pater Noster* into English, had not the archbishop of Canterbury defended him: and Bishop Latimer, who was at the time a young student at Cambridge, remembered the noise occasioned by the prosecution of Colet for heresy, and says expressly, that "he was not only in trouble, but should have been burnt, if God had not turned the king's heart to the contrary."

The enemies of the dean were not easily repulsed. Disappointed in their accusation of heresy, they attempted to fix upon him a suspicion of sedition, or treason. In this they were equally foiled; for the young king (Henry VIII.) sent for him, and in private advised him to go on, reproving and reforming a corrupt and dissolute age, nor suffer his light to be extinguished in times so densely dark; assuring him that he was sensible of the good effect of his excellent preaching and life, and promising that no one should injure him with impunity. The dean thanked the king for his royal protection, but begged that no one might suffer on his account, for he would rather, he said, resign his deanery, and live in privacy. Another attack was made upon the dean, of a similar nature, but which was equally unsuccessful; the king dismissing him with marks of affection, and promises of favour. After this the dean continued his constant course of preaching, though he seems never to have recovered his character for *orthodoxy*, with the bigots of his church.

In the mean time, his father, Sir Henry Colet, dying, in 1510, he succeeded to a very considerable estate. He, therefore, delivered his church revenues to his steward, to be expended in house-keeping, and hospitality; and employed the annual produce of his paternal estate, in acts of piety, beneficence, and generosity. Having no very near, or poor relations, he founded the Grammar School of St. Paul's, in London, which he endowed with lands and tenements, for the support of a head-master, a second-master, or usher, and a chaplain, for the instruction of 153 boys, in the Greek and Latin languages; and placed it under the care of the company of mercers. The dean also appointed WILLIAM LILY to be first head-master of his school.*

* The celebrated grammarian, WILLIAM LILY, or LILYE, was born at Oldham, in Hampshire, about 1466. At the age of eighteen, he was admitted a demy-commoner of Magdalen college, Oxford. Having taken the degree of bachelor of arts, he left the university, and travelled to Jerusalem. On his return, he resided a considerable time in the island of Rhodes, where he studied the Greek, under the learned men who had fled thither for protection, after the taking of Constantinople. From thence he proceeded to Rome, where he further improved himself in the Latin and Greek languages, under John Sulpitius and Pomponius Sabinus. On his arrival in England, in 1509, he settled in London, and taught grammar, poetry, and rhetoric, with good success; and is said to have been the first who taught Greek in that city. When Dr. Colet founded St. Paul's School, he was appointed head-master. He had been twelve years in that laborious and useful situation, when he was seized with the plague and died, in 1522. He was a married man at the time of his appointment to the school. His two sons, George and Peter, were both learned men. The eldest of them published the *first exact Map* that was ever drawn of this island. Mr. Lily had also a daughter named Dionysia, who was married to John Ritwyse, usher, and afterwards successor to him in the mastership of St. Paul's school.

Lily had the character of an excellent grammarian, and a successful teacher of the learned languages. He published several small Latin pieces, principally poems and orations. His principal work, or at least that by which he is best known, is *Brevissima Institutio, seu ratio grammatices cognoscendæ;* Lond. 1513; commonly called *Lily's Latin Grammar.* This was a very excellent work for its time. Bishop Wettenhall's Grammar, the Eton Grammar, and multitudes of others, are but abridgments of it. The English Rudiments of it were written by *Dr. Colet;* the Preface by Cardinal *Wolsey;* the Syntax chiefly by

In 1511, at the opening of the convocation of the province of Canterbury, Archbishop Warham appointed Dean Colet to preach the Latin sermon on that occasion. In this sermon, which is still extant, he attacked the corruptions of the church and clergy, in the most warm and spirited manner. His text was from St. Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*, ch. xii. v. 2. "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed, &c." In treating of *conformity to the world*, he explained what was meant, under four heads; *devilish pride; carnal lusts; worldly covetousness*; and *secular business*. "These," said the dean, "are in the world, as St. John witnesseth, who says, that *all that is in the world is either the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life*. And these same things do now so reign in the church, and amongst ecclesiastical persons, that we may, in a manner, truly say, all that is in the church is either the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life." He then proceeded to discuss, in the most bold and spirited manner, the different topics he had proposed; and concluded by a pointed address to the bishops, pressing the necessity of reformation, and of an immediate and firm exercise of discipline, agreeably to the canons of the church, which he proposed should be read in that convocation.

His honesty and zeal against the corruptions of the clergy increased the number of his enemies, but protected by the king, he escaped that degradation and martyrdom, which with a less powerful patron he would probably have suffered; and under the sanction of royalty, succeeded to other preferments beside those which have already been mentioned. He was rector of the fraternity,

---

Erasmus; and the other parts by other hands; so that, although it bears *Lily's* name, he probably had not the largest share in the work; and therefore, during his life, modestly refused the honour of having it ascribed to him. It has since been greatly improved, and has passed through innumerable editions. See *Brit. Biog.* I. pp. 384, 385; and Clarke's *Bibliog. Dict.* IV. p. 19.

or Gild of JESUS, in St. Paul's church, for which he procured new statutes; and also chaplain, and preacher in ordinary, to King Henry; and, if Erasmus were not mistaken, one of his privy-council. About his fiftieth year, he formed a resolution to withdraw from active life, and spend the rest of his days in retirement; but he was prevented by death: for being seized with the sweating sickness, "he retired to the lodgings he had built in the monastery of the Carthusians at Sheen, near Richmond, in Surry; when, having spent the little remainder of his days in devotion, he surrendered up his last breath to him that first gave it, on the 16th of September, 1519." His body was afterwards carried to London, and buried in the cathedral church of St. Paul, with an humble monument, that he had several years before appointed and prepared, with only this inscription on it, JOANNES COLETUS.

The dean, as to his person, was tall and comely; and his mien and carriage graceful. His learning was considerable; and his piety, exemplary. As a preacher, he was eloquent and nervous. In his goods, furniture, entertainment, apparel, and books, he was neat and clean; but despised all state and magnificence: and whilst the higher clergy were generally clothed in purple, his dress was always black, and plain. Frugal at his meals, it was his custom for many years to eat but one meal, that of dinner. As soon as grace before meat was said, some boy, with a good voice, read distinctly a chapter out of one of St. Paul's Epistles, or out of the Proverbs of Solomon; and from thence the dean took occasion to introduce grave and improving conversation, by which means his guests were refreshed in mind as well as body. At other times, when he had no agreeable companion, one of his servants read some part of the Holy Scriptures. "In his journeys, he would sometimes make me," says Erasmus, "his companion, when no one could be more pleasant; yet he always carried a

book with him; and his conversation was all about CHRIST." He loved little children, and compared them, like Jesus, to angels, for innocence and simplicity. To glorify God, and to be useful to men, appeared to be the great aim of his life, which occasioned Erasmus to say when he heard of his death, "I know his state is happy; he is now delivered from a troublesome and wicked world, and enjoys the presence of his Redeemer JESUS, whom he loved so affectionately in his life."[60]

Such was Dean Colet, a man who, amid the darkness of the age, shone as a light in a benighted land; and who deserves to be ranked among those who were essentially serviceable in the spread of Scriptural knowledge; an honour to his country; a blessing to posterity.

An increasing attention began now to be paid to the *Greek* tongue, as the original language of the New Testament; and such was the veneration of some persons for it on this account, that although they did not understand the language itself, yet because it was the *Original Text*, they caused it to be interlined in their copies of the Vulgate. Dr. Hody mentions a MS. of this kind, preserved in the library of Corpus Christi college, Oxford, executed in the most beautiful manner, on parchment, in two volumes, in folio. The *Latin* is written with *black*, and the Greek with *red* ink.[61]

Thus was Divine Providence preparing the way for the reformation of his church, and for the revival of Sacred literature from that state of profound ignorance, into which it had been sunk for ages. Many instances of that general disuse of the Holy Scriptures, among the clergy, and members, of the church of Rome, which preceded the age of Luther, and of the necessity of some powerful interposition to break the fetters of the most

(60) British Biography, I. pp. 361—402.
Jortin's Life of Erasmus, III. Append. No. ii. pp. 14—25.
(61) Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. lib. iii. pt. ii. cap. xii. p. 458.

slavsih superstition, and to rescue the Sacred Volume from the bondage in which it was detained, have been already adduced; and if we again pass to the CONTINENT, and examine the state of those countries where the great deliverance was first effected, it must add to our gratitude, for the gracious and energetic interposition of that God whose word is TRUTH.

Several of the *German* monasteries had no public library for the use of the monks; and in some of them, not a single copy of the Scriptures could be found. Prior to the publication of the *Greek Testament*, by Erasmus, not a copy could be procured in all Germany; so that Conrad Pellican was obliged to obtain one from Italy. In some churches *Aristotle's Ethics*, and similar works, were read, instead of sermons; a practice which in some places had subsisted from the time of Charlemagne; in others, the works of *Aquinas* were explained; and in some, lectures on the *Heathen Poets* were delivered, where the Word of God ought to have been preached. The *original languages* of the Scriptures were not only generally neglected, but the study of them was despised. Conrad Heresbachius relates, that he heard a monk declaiming in a church, who affirmed, "A new language is discovered, called Greek, and is the parent of all heresy. A book written in that language is every where got into the hands of persons; and is called the *New Testament*. It is a book full of daggers and poison. Another language has also sprung up, called the Hebrew, and those who learn it become Jews." Even *Latin*, the common language of their religious services, was so little understood by the monkish clergy, that the most ridiculous mistakes were made by them, both in the performance of their offices and in their writings: an instance is related of one, who, instead of the usual form in baptism, was accustomed to say, "Baptizo te in nomine Patria, et Filia, et Spiritus Sancti;" of another, who, when he had received letters of recom-

mendation for orders, couched in these terms, "Otto Dei gratia, rogat vestram clementiam, ut velitis istum clericum conducere ad vestrum Diaconum;" and was ordered to read the epistle, which was considerably abbreviated in the writing, was so totally ignorant of the Latin, as to form the abbreviations into the following unmeaning words: "Otto Dei gram, rogat vestram clam, ut velit istum clincum clancum, convertere in vivum Diabolum;" and of a third, who for "famulus Dei," constantly repeated "mulus Dei."[62]

The grossest ignorance of the Scriptures prevailed, not only amongst the laity, but also amongst many of the clergy. Degrees in divinity were conferred upon those who had scarcely ever read the Bible; and numbers of divines were far advanced in life before they had even seen one! In the year 1510, the university of Wittemberg registered in its acts, Andrew Carolostad, afterwards one of the reformers, as being *sufficientissimus*, fully qualified for the degree of doctor, which he then received; though he afterwards acknowledged, that he never began to read the Bible till eight years after he had received his academical honours. Albert, archbishop and elector of Mentz, having accidentally found a Bible lying on a table, in 1530, opened it, and having read some pages, exclaimed, "Indeed, I do not know what this book is; but this I see, that every thing in it is against us." Gerard Listrius, in his Note on the *Moriæ Encomium* of Erasmus, says, "I have known many doctors in divinity, as they were called, who have candidly acknowledged that they were fifty years of age before they had read the Epistles of St. Paul:" and Musculus affirms, *(Loc. Com.)* that prior to the Reformation, "many priests and pastors

(62) Lomeier, De Bibliothecis, cap. viii. pp. 155. 180.
Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. pt. ii. lib. iii. pp. 464, 465.
Hottingeri Analecta Historico-Theologica: Diss. i. *De Necessitate Reformationis*, pp. 12. 52. Tigurin. 1652, 12mo.

had not so much as *seen* a Bible." Those who devoted themselves to the study of the Scriptures were objects of derision, and treated as heretical; whilst the advocates of the Aristotelian philosophy were regarded as the oracles of wisdom, and the only true theologians. The divines of Cologne published one work, entitled *De Salute Aristotelis*, "Aristotle on Salvation;" and another, illustrated with theological notes, bearing the title of *De vita et morte Aristotelis*, "Aristotle on Life and Death;" and concluding with this sentence, "Aristotle was the forerunner of Christ in the kingdom of nature, as John the Baptist was in the kingdom of grace." Even the *Bible* itself was disregarded, or contemptuously noticed. John Faber, canon of Leutkirch, and suffragan of Constance, and afterwards bishop of Vienna, impiously declared that men "might live peaceably and amicably together, without the Gospel;" and Cardinal Hosius daringly affirmed, that "it would have been better for the church (of Rome,) if the Gospel had never been written."[63]

This view of the degraded state of Sacred literature, previous to the Reformation, is further confirmed by the following extract from the learned historian of *The Helvetic Confederacy*:

"The generality of the priesthood did not scruple to acknowledge their deficiency in the most elementary parts of learning. The canons of the collegiate church of Zuric having to notify an election to the bishop of Constance, confessed that they transmitted it in the handwriting of their notary, because several of them could not write. In the examination for holy orders, it was deemed amply sufficient that the candidate could read, and tolerably comprehend what he read:* even after the

(63) Hottingeri Analecta, Diss. 1. pp. 1—82.
Lomeier, De Bibliothecis, cap. viii. pp. 166, 167.
Hody, *ut sup.*

* "The report of the examination of Leonard Brun for priest's

Reformation had made some progress, the people firmly believed, and the priests confirmed them in the persuasion, that the bells travelled every passion-week to Rome to receive fresh baptism; and that the exorcisms of priests could effectually dispel swarms of locusts, and all manner of insects. When, at an assembly of the clergy in the Valais, mention was made of the Bible, only one of the priests had ever heard of such a book: and several, on other occasions, did not scruple to declare, that it would be an advantage to religion if no Gospel were extant; and that the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages greatly savoured of heresy."

"Had the clergy, however, in this unpardonable state of ignorance," continues the writer, "maintained a decorum in their conversation and manners, they might still have preserved a degree of respect and influence, which would probably have somewhat retarded the progress of the Reformation. But the profligacy even of the heads of the church, had arrived at a pitch which it was no longer possible to tolerate, or palliate. Without dwelling on the many flagrant instances of depravation, which are not disguised even by the ecclesiastical writers of the Romish church, all men must feel a painful conviction when they learn, from the charges that were brought by the citizens of Lausanne, against their clergy; that the priests used often, even in the churches, and in the midst of divine service, to strike the persons to whom they bore ill-will, some of whom had actually died of their wounds; that they walked the streets at night, disguised in military dresses, brandishing naked swords, and insulting the peaceable inhabitants; and that the frequent rapes, violences, and insults they committed, were never punished, or even restrained. The following are the words of the 18th article: 'We have also to complain of the

orders, not long before the Reformation, was "Bene legit, competenter exponit et sententiat, computum ignorat, male cantat—Fiat admissio."

canons, that they reduce the profits of our town brothel, several of them carrying on the traffic of prostitution in their own houses, which they throw open to new comers of all descriptions.'* It is no small corroboration of the merited clamours raised against the clergy, that their own zealous advocate and protector, Charles V. publicly declared to them, that if their lives had been less reproachable, they would never have had to contend with a Martin Luther."[64]

From such an awful detail of depravity, the consequence, principally, of that universal ignorance of the Word of God, which had been studiously induced by the inhibitory mandates of the papal power, and the restrictive measures of the Romish clergy, we turn with satisfaction, to notice a few instances of a very different, and more enlightened nature. For amid the general gloom some characters were found, whose pursuits, and studies, threw rays of sacred light across "the palpable obscure." JACOBUS FABER, of Daventer; JOANNES FROBENIUS, the celebrated printer; but especially DESIDERIUS ERASMUS, deserve to be remarked for their promotion of Biblical learning.

JACOBUS FABER, *of Daventer*, was born in the year 1472. His preceptor was Alexander Hegius, who was also the instructor of Erasmus. In 1499, he published an heroic poem. Afterwards he became the reader of the second class of Daventer, and edited the works of his master; part of which he dedicated to Erasmus, in 1503. In the year 1511, he edited "Cato's Distichs," with additions. About the same time Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, (Jacques Le Fevre, of Estaples,) presented him with a copy of his *Quintuple Psalter*, printed in 1509.

* "These charges consist of twenty-three articles, and are given at length in Ruchat's Hist. de la Reform. de la Suisse, I. p. xxxii. They are of the year 1533."

(64) Planta's History of the Helvetic Confederacy, II. B. ii. ch. vi. pp. 358—363. Lond. 1807, 8vo

Many MSS. in the hand-writing of Jacobus Faber of Daventer, are still extant in the library of that city, among which, are Latin translations of the Greek canons and menology. He appears to have been an indefatigable transcriber of Biblical MSS., for on the first page of a MS. formerly belonging to Faber, J. C. Wolfius, of Hamburg, has made the following note. "I have a *Hebrew MS.* of GENESIS and EXODUS, with Faber's name written at the beginning and end." The same learned person possessed also a MS. of the GREEK NEW TESTAMENT, transcribed by Faber, which was afterwards purchased by Wetstein, out of Wolfius's library, and collated for his Greek Testament. It contains the following books of the New Testament, in this order, *John, Luke, Matthew, Mark;* the *Epistles of St. Paul;* the *Acts;* and the *Catholic* (or General) *Epistles:* the *Epistle of Jude* is written twice, and from two different copies. Jacobus Faber copied it from a MS. written at Mount Athos, in 1293, by Theodore, the writer also of a Greek MS. of the *Four Gospels,* preserved in the library of Christ Church, in Oxford. The ancient MS. which Faber copied, or with which he collated his transcript, was one which had been presented from the Vatican Library, to John Herman Wesselus, of Groningen, by Pope Sixtus IV.* Faber's copy is on paper, in 2 volumes, 4to. At the beginning is a note, of which the following is the purport: "I have collated the Four Gospels more than once, with great care and labour, with an ancient MS. on vellum, formerly belonging to J. Wesselus, of Groningen. The labour it has occasioned me, I cannot easily tell, as I have met with no one to assist me in the collation." He was living in 1517. The time of his decease is uncertain.[65]

---

* See p. 175 of this Volume.

(65) Jortin's Life of Erasmus, I. p. 104, *note.*
Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. ch. viii. p. 360.

JOHN FROBENIUS, or FROBEN, was one of the most celebrated printers of his day. He was a native of Hammelburg, in Franconia. He received his education at Basil; and after having made great progress in literature, commenced the business of a printer, in that city. He selected the works of the best authors for publication; and spared no expense to obtain perfect MSS. He employed persons of the highest literary merit, as the editors, and correctors of the press, in proof of which it is sufficient to name *Sigismund Gelenius*, the learned author of a "Greek, Latin, German, and Slavonian Lexicon;" and *John Œcolampadius*, or *Hawksheim*, one of the principal reformers, and author of several Latin translations of the Greek Fathers.

The respectability of Froben's character, and his constant care of never printing any thing offensive to morals and religion, procured him both celebrity and opulence. In the publication of the works of the Fathers, particularly of *Jerom*, he was joined by *John Amerbach*, a pious and wealthy printer, who had educated his three sons in the study of the Greek, and Hebrew, and Latin tongues, to qualify them for editing the works of this his favourite author.

In 1514, he contracted an intimate friendship for Erasmus, who came to reside at Basil, principally with the design of publishing the works of Jerom, for which he had made considerable preparations, where he found Froben and Amerbach engaged in a similar undertaking, who committed to him the direction of the work.

But what gave the greatest celebrity to Froben, was his printing the GREEK NEW TESTAMENT, which was edited by Erasmus. This was the *first published* edition of the Greek Testament after the invention of printing; for although the Complutensian edition was first *printed*, it was not *published* till 1522, whereas this was published in 1516. The design of publishing this edition origin-

ated with Froben, who engaged Erasmus as the editor; for Beatus Rhenanus, who was for some time one of the correctors of Froben's press, in a letter addressed to Erasmus, dated April 17th, 1515, makes the proposal, in the following terms; "Petit Frobenius abs te Novum Testamentum, pro quo tantum se daturum pollicetur, quantum alias quisquam:" "Froben requests you to undertake the New Testament, for which he promises to give you as much as any other person." During the time he was employed upon it, Erasmus lodged in the house of Froben, as appears from the subscription at the end of the first edition, which is, "Basiliæ, in ædibus Johannis Frobenii Hammelburgensis, Mense Februario, anno MDXVI."

Froben also commenced an edition of the works of Augustin, in 10 volumes; and had formed the design of printing the works of all the Greek Fathers, when his life was terminated by a universal palsy, supposed to be the consequence of a dreadful fall, some years before. He died, universally lamented by all who knew him, at Basil, in 1527.[66]

Erasmus, who occasionally assumed the prænomen of *Desiderius*, was born at Rotterdam, about A. D. 1467; and received the early part of his education at an illustrious school, at Daventer, where Alexander Hegius was his master, and Adrianus Florentius, afterwards Pope Adrian IV. was his school-fellow. At the age of thirteen, he lost his parents; his mother by the plague, and his father by grief for her death. The three guardians to whose care he was left by his father, proved dishonourable and base; and in order to rob him of his patrimony, determined to make him a monk, for which purpose they forced him into a convent of friars, at Balduc, in Brabant; from whence he was removed to another, at Sion, near

(66) Jortin's Life of Erasmus, I. pp. 58. 393.
Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. ch. xii. p. 443; and pt. ii. p. 854.

Delft, and thence to a third, at Stein, near Torgau. His aversion from the monastic state induced him to resist their attempts for some years; but at length, overcome by their unwearied endeavours, he entered among the regular canons, and made his profession in 1486.

He did not, however, remain long in the monastery, for in 1490, he was received into the family of Henry à Bergis, archbishop of Cambray; and subsequently obtained leave from Julius II., and then from Leo X., to lay aside the habit of the order, and to quit the monastic profession.

From the time that Erasmus quitted his convent, to the period when he published his New Testament, he resided chiefly in England and France, and occasionally visiting Italy. In every country he indefatigably pursued his studies, obtaining a precarious subsistence from the generosity of his literary friends, the emoluments of instruction, and the publication of several of his minor productions. For several years his mind was occupied with a design of publishing the works of Jerom, but especially of printing an edition of the *Greek Testament*, with notes. Early in 1515, he received proposals from Froben, the celebrated printer of Basil, to reside in that city, and become the editor of a Greek Testament. The proposal according with his own previous intention, he removed to Basil, and edited both the *Greek Testament*, and the *Works of Jerom;* which respectively appeared in the year 1516.

This edition of the GREEK TESTAMENT, Erasmus accompanied with a *Latin Version;* and *Various Readings*, selected from several MSS. the works of the Fathers, and the Vulgate. It was printed in folio, in two columns, with the notes at the end; and reprinted in 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535. The publication of the New Testament raised a host of enemies against Erasmus, some of whom censured his temerity, whilst others laboured to affix the

stigma of inaccuracy and heresy upon him; and one of the colleges at Cambridge forbade it to be brought within its walls! Many of his adversaries strove to have it placed among the prohibited works, but the *Dedication* to Leo X. with the approbation of it expressed by that pontiff, and especially his *Brief* annexed to the later editions, prevented, for a time, the accomplishment of the malicious intentions of the Spanish, and other monkish divines. His edition of Jerom, and several of his other works, met with a severer fate, and were not only placed in the *Indices Expurgatorii*, as works to be corrected and *purged*, but, in some instances, were condemned to the flames.

The liberal and enlightened manner in which Erasmus, in the prefatory discourses prefixed to his New Testament, recommended and defended vernacular translations, and the universal perusal of the Sacred Volume, placed him amongst the warmest advocates for the circulation of the Scriptures. His *Preface, Paraclesis,* and *Apologia,* deserve to be read and studied by every lover of the Bible, and probably greatly aided the Reformation, and subsequent diffusion of Scriptural truth. The following brief extracts will give an idea of his manner of reasoning:

"I differ exceedingly from those who object to the Scriptures being translated into the vernacular tongues, and read by the illiterate: as if Christ had taught so obscurely, that none could understand him, but a few theologians; or as if the Christian religion depended upon being kept secret. The mysteries of kings ought, perhaps, to be concealed, but the mystery of Christ strenuously urges publication. I would have even the meanest of women to read the *Gospels,* and *Epistles of St. Paul;* and I wish that the Scriptures might be translated into all languages, that they might be known and read, not only by the Irish and Scots, but also by Saracens and

Turks. Assuredly, the first step is to make them known. For this very purpose, though many might ridicule, and others might frown, I wish the husbandman might repeat them at his plough, the weaver sing them at his loom, the traveller beguile the tediousness of the way by the entertainment of their stories, and the general discourse of all Christians be concerning them, since what we are in ourselves, such we almost constantly are in our common conversation."

"*Letters*, written by those we love and esteem, are preserved, and prized, and carried about with us, and read again and again; and yet there are thousands of Christians who, although otherwise learned, never once, in the whole of their life, read the books containing the *Gospels* and *Epistles*. Mohammedans violently defend their opinions; and Jews, from their infancy, learn the precepts of Moses; but why are we not equally decisive in favour of Christ? They who *profess* the Institute of Benedict, adopt, and learn, and follow a *Rule* written by a man nearly illiterate. They who are of the order of Augustin, are well versed in the *Rule* of its author. The Franciscans adore the traditions of Francis, possess themselves of them, and carry them with them to every part of the world, nor ever think themselves safe, but when they have the book in their bosom. And why should they attribute more to *Rules* written by men, than Christians in general to RULES which Christ has delivered to all; and into which all have been equally initiated by baptism."[67]

Soon after the publication of his *Greek Testament*, Erasmus commenced a series of PARAPHRASES on the New Testament, forming an extensive supplement to the notes accompanying the Greek. His *Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* was dedicated to Cardinal Dominic Grimani, who was himself a man of eru-

(67) Erasmi, Nov. Test. *Paraclesis*. Basil, 1516, fol.

dition, and translated into Italian, a treatise of St. Chrysostom: his library, next to that of the pope, was at that time the most considerable in Rome; and contained 8000 volumes. The dedication is dated A. 1517. In 1519, he dedicated his *Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians*, to the Prince Cardinal de Marca. In the same year he dedicated his *Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians*, to Cardinal Campegius; and his *Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy, to Titus, and to Philemon*, to Philip of Burgundy, archbishop of Utrecht. His *Paraphrase of the Epistles of St. James and St. John, and of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, he dedicated, in 1520, to Cardinal Matthew, who had exhorted him to undertake the paraphrase of these Epistles. In 1522, he dedicated his *Paraphrase of St. Matthew*; to Charles V. and closed his dedication with an excellent admonition to this young emperor, in which he reminds him, that "all wars, however justly undertaken, or however moderately conducted, are always followed by a train of calamities and sufferings." In his preface to this paraphrase, he exhorts the laity and the common people, to read and study the Scriptures, which ought, as he says, to lie open to all well-disposed people, and to be translated into all modern languages.

In 1523, Erasmus dedicated his *Paraphrase of St. Luke*, to Henry VIII. king of England. He tells the king, that Charles V. and Ferdinand, and Christiern of Denmark, and Queen Catharine, were readers of the Holy Scriptures. He also draws an argument for the truth of Christianity, from its successful propagation, and its salutary effects.

The *Paraphrase of St. John* was dedicated to Ferdinand, brother of the Emperor Charles V. In the dedication, Erasmus gives Ferdinand a great character; and exhorts him to persevere in his good dis-

positions, and offers him excellent advice. At the end of the paraphrase is an epistle to the reader, recommending to him piety, and dissuading him from superstition. The *Paraphrase of the Acts of the Apostles*, Erasmus dedicated to Pope Clement VII. in 1524. The *Paraphrase of St. Mark*, which, in 1521, he had inscribed to Cardinal Matthew, he dedicated in 1533, to Francis I. king of France. In his dedication he exhorts Christian princes to peace, and pacific dispositions; and observes, with pleasure, what a demand there was for the New Testament, and *how many thousand copies were sold every year.* The *Paraphrase of the Epistles of St. Peter and of St. Jude*, he dedicated to Cardinal Wolsey; and after complimenting the cardinal, informs him that he has no favours to solicit, besides the cardinal's countenance and approbation. The *Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistles to the Galatians* appears to have been published without any particular dedication. Erasmus published no paraphrase of the *Revelation.* These paraphrases were afterwards collected, and published, together with his other works. The best edition is that by Le Clerc, printed at Leyden, 1703, 11 vols. fol. Beside the paraphrase of the New Testament, he also published paraphrases, or discourses, on some of the *Psalms.* His discourse on the *First Psalm* was dedicated by him, in 1515, to Beatus Rhenanus, a learned and pacific man, one of the correctors of Froben's press. In the dedication he exhorts all persons to read the Scriptures, which, (as he *afterwards* affirmed in his other writings,) ought to be translated into vulgar tongues, and put into the hands of the vulgar: he also exhorts the common people not to have an implicit faith in their teachers, nor to suffer themselves to be led by the nose like bears.

The bold and satirical manner in which Erasmus attacked the corruptions of the Romish church and clergy, not only in his Biblical works, but in his numerous other

writings, exposed him to the hatred, and malicious machinations of a host of enemies, who regarded him as one of the most dangerous and powerful opponents of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and doctrines. His works were exclaimed against as disseminating heretical opinions, and placed in the *Indices Expurgatorii* as dangerous to be read; and himself only escaped the punishment of heretical pravity, by the influence of his friends, and the cowardly dissimulation of some parts of his conduct. For though possessed of an enlightened mind, a correct judgment, and uncommon learning, he unfortunately had neither piety nor firmness enough to become a martyr to the truth; nor to meet the fiery zeal of his adversaries with the intrepidity of a reformer. It was this fear of suffering which most probably occasioned his opposition to Luther, with whom the monks ranked him, for "Erasmus," said they, "laid the egg, and Luther hatched it."

Erasmus continued writing and publishing to the very close of his life, occasionally satirizing the monks, exposing the absurdities of many of the doctrines of his church, and defending the advocates of reformation and truth. In the last year of his life he published his discourse, or *Commentary, on the XIV. Psalm*, which he entitled, *Of the purity of the Christian Church*, consisting of allegorical interpretations, and moral reflections upon the text. He also republished his *Letters*, adding several received from the emperor, and other princes, and from men in the highest stations; and remarks, that whilst revising them, he had found that within the space of *ten* years, many of his best friends, and old correspondents were dead, which caused him to meditate on the shortness and uncertainty of human life. He intended to have revised and printed the "Works of Origen," adding a few short notes; but before it was completed he was called away by death; and the work was published after his decease, with a preface, by Beatus Rhenanus.

About a month before his death, he was seized with a dysentery, which his feeble frame, already weakened by disease, was unable to sustain, and which proved mortal on the 12th of July, 1536. The last of his days were spent in constantly imploring the mercy of Almighty God, and of Jesus Christ, without speaking of those Catholic ceremonies, which he had so frequently blamed in the monks. He was buried in the cathedral church of Basil, or as it is generally called, Bâsle.

In his person he was low of stature, well shaped, of a fair complexion, cheerful countenance, low voice, and agreeable elocution; neat and decent in his apparel; and a pleasant companion.[68]

The unprecedented circulation of the anti-monastic writings of Erasmus, and the repeated editions of his New Testament created universal interest, and essentially aided the progress of truth, by exposing the vices of the monks, and causing the vast superstructure of superstition to tremble to its foundation; but the far more difficult labour of establishing the doctrines of the Gospel on an immoveable basis, was reserved for the intrepid and illustrious LUTHER, who, with a fearless independency of spirit, embraced, defended, and propagated those evangelical and important doctrines, which, by the gracious providence of God, induced and confirmed the happy event of the ever-memorable REFORMATION,

(68) Jortin's Life of Erasmus, *passim*.

CHAPTER IV.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY CONTINUED.

Luther. German Version. Duke of Wurtemberg's Library. Melancthon. Bugenhagen. Jonas. Cruciger. Aurogallus. Rorarius. Forster. Ziegler. Emser's Catholic New Testament. Dietenberg's Bible. Other German Versions. Attempts to suppress Luther's Version. Low-Saxon, Swedish, Icelandic, Hungarian, and Dutch Versions. Potken's Ethiopic Editions. Progress of the Reformation. Zuingle. Latin Versions. Munster. Leo Judæ. Bibliander. Cholin. Gualter. Bullinger. Pellican. German-Swiss and German Versions.

THE great Saxon Reformer, MARTIN LUTHER, was born at Eisleben, in the county of Mansfeld, and electorate of Saxony, in the year 1483. His father was employed in the mines, and rose by assiduity and integrity to the possession of property, and the office of magistrate. His mother, who appears to have been a woman of exemplary piety, devoted considerable attention to the tuition of her infant son; and to her pious instructions he was probably indebted for the early devotional bias of his mind. After receiving a liberal education in the schools of Magdeburg and Eisenach, he repaired to the university of Erford or Erfurt, and commenced master of arts, at the age of twenty. In 1505, he retired to the Augustinian monastery in that place, under the influence of religious impressions, occasioned by the awful death of a friend, and his own providential deliverance from a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning. "In this university of Erford," says Fox, "there was a certain aged man in the convent of the

Augustines, with whom Luther, being then of the same order, a Friar Augustine, had conference upon divers things, especially touching the article of the *Remission of Sins;* the which article the said aged father opened unto Luther after this sort; declaring, that we must not generally believe only forgiveness of sins to be, or to belong to Peter, to Paul, to David, or such good men alone; but that God's express commandment is, that every man should believe his sins particularly to be forgiven him in Christ; and further said, that this interpretation was confirmed by the testimony of St. Bernard, and shewed him the place, in the 'Sermon of Annunciation,' where it is thus set forth: *'But add thou that thou believest this, that by him thy sins are forgiven thee. This is the testimony that the Holy Ghost giveth thee in thy heart, saying, Thy sins are forgiven thee. For this is the opinion of the Apostle, that man is freely justified by faith.* By these words Luther was not only strengthened, but was also instructed of the full meaning of St. Paul, who repeateth so many times this sentence, *We are justified by faith.* And having read the expositions of many upon this place, he then perceived, as well by the purpose of the old man, as by the comfort he received in his spirit, the vanity of those interpretations which he had read before, of the schoolmen. And so reading, by little and little, with conferring the sayings and examples of the prophets and apostles, and continual invocation of God, and excitation of faith by the force of prayer, he perceived that doctrine most evidently."[1]

It was about the same time that Luther either received from one of the monks, or accidentally found in the library, a neglected copy of the *Latin* version of the BIBLE, bound in red morocco. To his great surprize, he discovered that there were many parts of the Scripture which were never read to the people in the public service of the

(1) Fox's Actes and Monumentes, II. pp. 60, 61.

church. He therefore studied the Sacred Volume with such constancy and diligence, that he was very soon able to refer with ease and promptitude to any particular passage. Many portions of it he committed to memory; and sometimes spent the whole day in endeavouring to gain the true sense of one sentence. The incredible ardour with which he applied himself to the study of the Scriptures, gradually enlightened his mind, and produced those important views of Christian doctrine, experience, and practice, that eventually led to the astonishing results which took place in the Christian church, and spread the pure light of the Gospel in every direction.

Luther also became a *Biblical*, or *Scriptural Bachelor*, (Baccalaureus Biblicus,) whose duty it was to read lectures upon certain portions of Scripture. The *Biblical Bachelors* were, however, considered as inferior to the *Scholastic Bachelors*, (Baccalaurii Sententiarii,) or those who read lectures on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and the works of other scholastic divines, and, therefore, their degree was regarded merely as a preparatory one in divinity. But it is worthy of notice, that at the time when Luther entered the order of the Augustinians, it was the only one capable of furnishing a Biblical bachelor to the university of Paris; for, at the reformation of the theological faculty, or college, at Paris, towards the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Augustin monks were selected to furnish the college of divinity, once a year, with a Biblical bachelor, from which it is natural to conclude, that the Dominicans, Franciscans, and other mendicant orders, had entirely neglected the study of the Scriptures, and especially, as by the original decree of the theological faculty, prior to the reformation of the college, *each* of the mendicant orders was enjoined to provide annually a Biblical bachelor, yet in the reformation of the college, none but the Augustinians were able to

satisfy that demand.[2] Melancthon was a *Biblical Bachelor* of the same order as Luther.

In his Augustine superior, Staupitius, or Staupitz, Luther found a zealous adviser of the study of the Scriptures, in preference to any other pursuit. In the technical language of the times, Staupitz recommended him to become a good *Textualis et Localis*, by which he meant, the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of the texts of Scripture, and an expertness in quoting them. In 1507, he was ordained; and the next year was called by Staupitz, to the professorship of logic, in the university of Wittemberg. In 1510, he was sent on special business to Rome, and after his return was created doctor in divinity; and exchanged the philosophical for the theological chair, of the same university.* He now commenced lectures on the *Epistle to the Romans*, and the *Psalms;* he also diligently applied to the study of the Hebrew and Greek languages, for the purpose of obtaining a more perfect knowledge of the Scriptures.

"Such," says Melancthon, "were the employments of Luther at the time when those prostitute *Indulgences* were first proclaimed by that most impudent Dominican, Tetzel. Burning with the love of every thing that was godly, and irritated by Tetzel's shameful discourses, he published some propositions concerning the nature of indulgences. The Dominican, in return, publicly burnt Luther's propositions, and menaced the heretic himself with the flames. In a word, the outrageous conduct of Tetzel and his associates, absolutely compelled Luther

(2) Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. by Maclaine, IV. p. 218, *note.*
Du Cange, Glossar. Lat. v. *Baccalarii.*

* The learned reader will find Luther's views of the duty of a Christian divine, delineated in a summary, extracted from Melchior Adam's Life of the German Reformer: "Tria faciunt theologum, dixit: *meditatio, oratio, tentatio:* et tria verbi ministro facienda: *evolvere Biblia; orare seriò; et semper discipulum manere.* Optimi ad vulgus hi sunt concionatores: qui *pueriliter, trivialiter, populariter, et simplicissimè docent.* (M. Adami *Vit. Germ. Theolog.* p. 165.

to discuss the subject at length, in support of the cause of truth."

In this manner began the controversy, in 1517, between the reformers and the papists. At first, Luther had to contend almost alone, against a host of powerful and violent enemies; but as his doctrines became more generally known, and his character and views more perfectly understood, he was joined by other worthies, in the sacred cause, and the Reformation spread wider daily, and daily gathered strength. As the Reformation advanced, Luther became more fully convinced of the necessity of furnishing the people with *vernacular translations of the Scriptures.*

In 1521, after having attended the diet of Worms, in order to vindicate the doctrines he taught, he was, on his return, seized and confined to the castle of Wartburg and its vicinity, by Frederic, elector of Saxony, probably to protect him from the violence of his enemies, and of the emperor in particular. In this retirement, which he used to call his Patmos, he first began to apply himself to the great undertaking of a new *Translation of the Bible into German.* For the purpose of engaging in this important labour, he had previously devoted some time to the study of the Hebrew and Greek. His skill in German is universally admitted. With such assiduity did Luther devote himself to the work, that before he left the castle of Wartburg, in March 1522, he had translated the whole of the New Testament, from the Greek, which, after his return to Wittemberg, was submitted to the critical revision of Melancthon. Of the different books of the NEW TESTAMENT, *St. Matthew's Gospel* was published first, then *St. Mark's,* and the *Epistle to the Romans.* The other books soon followed, so that the whole came out by September 1522. With a view to extensive circulation among the lower orders, Luther took care that the form of the edition should be cheap, and by publishing

the different books of the New Testament separately, sold them at a very low rate. And such was the rapid sale of this translation, that a second edition was printed before the conclusion of the same year. Of the labour bestowed upon this translation, and the essential assistance afforded by Melancthon, we may judge by the following circumstances. In a letter which Luther addressed to Spalatin, secretary to Frederic of Saxony, after returning from Wartburg, he says, "I translated not only John's Gospel, but the whole of the New Testament, in my Patmos; but Melancthon and I have now begun to revise the whole of it, and it will, by the blessing of God, do us credit. We sometimes need your assistance to direct us to suitable modes of expression. Prepare yourself therefore, but supply us only with such words as are simple, and avoid all that are confined in their use to the camps or court. We wish the book to be distinguished for the simplicity of its style. To accomplish this, in one difficult passage, we beg you will furnish us with the names, colours, and if possible, a sight, of the *precious stones* mentioned in Revelation xxi." This request had reference to the elector's collection of gems. Spalatin complied with the wish of his friends, and transmitted to them the precious stones in question, which, after due examination, they sent back. Again, in a letter which Melancthon addressed to the celebrated physician, George Sturciad, dated the 5th of May 1522, he speaks of the whole version being in the hands of the printers; and states that he had paid particular attention to the different kinds of *money* mentioned in the New Testament; and had also consulted with many learned men, that the version might express them with the utmost accuracy. He begs his correspondent to give his opinion, and to consult Mutianus, as being profoundly skilled in the knowledge of Roman antiquities; and entreats him to attend to this application, from a regard to the general good, and to do

it immediately, because the work was in the press, and printing with great expedition.

After his return to Wittemberg, Luther proceeded to the translation of the OLD TESTAMENT. On the 2nd of November 1522, he thus expressed himself in a letter to a friend: "In my translation of the Old Testament, I am only in Leviticus: It is inconceivable how much writing letters, business, conversation, and many other things, have interrupted my progress. I am now determined to shut myself up at home, and to use dispatch, so that the Five Books of Moses may be sent to press by January. We shall print them separately: after that we proceed to the historical parts of Scripture, and lastly to the Prophets. The *size* and *price* render it necessary to make these divisions in the publication."

In accomplishing this translation, Luther had to encounter various difficulties, not only from the different idioms of the Hebrew and German languages, but from the proper names of the animals mentioned in the Pentateuch, and the parts of them noticed relative to the Jewish sacrifices. In a letter to Wenceslaus Lincus, he exclaims, "How difficult and laborious the task, to force the Hebrew writers to speak German, which they resist, like the nightingale refusing to quit its delightful melody to imitate the coarse notes of the monotonous cuckow!" And in another to Spalatin, he writes, "We find so much difficulty in translating Job, arising from the sublimity of his style, that he appears much more impatient of our translation, than of the consolation of his friends, or he would certainly have sat for ever on the dunghill. Unless, perhaps, the author meant that his book should never be translated. This has caused the delay of the press in this third part of the Bible."

By the friendly aid of Spalatin, he obtained much information respecting different species of *Insects* and *Reptiles*, as well as *of Wild Beasts*, and *Rapacious Birds*.

He also employed butchers to *dissect* different *animals*, at his own house, that by examining their different parts, he might accurately express the sacrificial terms. But Luther was not satisfied with inquiries only of this nature, for he wisely called in to his assistance in this great work, several singularly learned, and pious professors of divinity, that each might contribute towards the perfection of the whole. Their method was to assemble from time to time, when each came prepared, by having previously studied the particular parts of the Bible then under consideration. Some of the professors excelled in an acquaintance with the Chaldee paraphrases, or Targums; others in the Rabbinical writings; while others brought various lights from the Greek Septuagint, and the fragments of the Greek translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Luther, who presided, had always before him the Hebrew Bible, the Latin Vulgate, and his own *manuscript* version; Melancthon brought the Greek, and Cruciger the Chaldee, and the other professors the Rabbinical writings. Thus they proceeded to examine the whole, sentence by sentence, till after sufficient deliberation, it was agreed, either to confirm, alter, correct, or improve the translation, as occasion required; and so desirous were they of producing a correct translation, that they sometimes returned *fourteen successive days to the reconsideration of a single line, or even a word!*

The *Old Testament* was published in parts as well as the *New*, but the writers who have written concerning Luther's version, differ considerably respecting the times at which they appeared; the following is the statement of Walch, which, from the dates affixed to copies of some of the portions in the library of the king of Wurtemberg, seems to be tolerably correct. The *Pentateuch*, or Five Books of Moses, appeared in 1523; the book of *Joshua*, and the rest of the *Historical Books*, except Job, in 1524; and later in the same year, *Job*, the *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Eccle-*

siastes, and *Solomon's Song*. In 1526, were printed the Prophecies of *Jonah* and *Habakkuk;* in 1528, *Zechariah*, and afterwards *Isaiah*. In 1529, the Book of *Wisdom* was published; in 1530, the Prophecy of *Daniel*, and during the same year the remainder of the *Apocryphal Books*. In 1531, Luther published a new and more liberal translation of the *Psalms:* and in 1531, and 1532, completed the rest of the *Prophets*.[3] In 1534, the Bible was first published complete: the *Psalms* in this edition were those of the translation of 1531. The eagerness with which copies of this translation were sought after, called for numerous editions, so that beside several printed at Nuremberg, Strasburg, Augsburg, and other places in Germany, editions were printed under the inspection of Luther, and his learned coadjutors, at Wittemberg, in 1535, 1536, 1538, 1539, 1541, 1543, 1544, and 1545; which was the last edition that Luther superintended, his decease occurring in 1546. After his decease, editions of the German Scriptures were multiplied so rapidly, that betwixt the years 1534, (when John Lufft, of Wittemberg, printed the first edition of the Bible,) and 1574, a hundred thousand copies were issued from the office of one printer only![4] The king of Wurtemberg's library, at Stutgard, contains many of the rarest editions of Luther's Bible, among which we notice the following in *folio*, viz.; the NEW TESTAMENT, *without date*, but known to be the first edition of 1522; two editions of the PENTATEUCH, *without date*, said to be of the year 1523; JOSHUA and ESTHER, *without date*, but printed according to the catalogue, in 1523; the books of JOB, PSALMS, PROVERBS, ECCLESIASTES, and SONG OF SOLOMON, 1524; the PROPHETS, 1532; the first edition of the whole BIBLE, 1534;

(3) Walchii (J. G.) Bibliotheca Theologica, IV. cap. viii. p. 82. Jenæ, 1765, 8vo.
Adleri Bibliotheca Biblica, olim Lorckiana, pars iii. pp. 7—18. Altonæ, 1787, 4to.

(4) Walch. *ut sup.* p. 86.

(the third part of the Old Testament wanting;) several other of the rarest editions, viz., 1535, 1536, 1539, 1541, 1543, 1545, all printed at Wittemberg, by John (Hans) Lufft. There are also in the same valuable collection, *three* editions of the Prophecy of HABAKKUK, all dated 1526, 4to., but differing from each other in the translation; *two* of JONAH, of the same date, in 4to. differing from each other in the translation; one of DANIEL, 1530, 4to.; and also JONAH and HABAKKUK, 1526, 4to.; beside many other rare editions of the whole, or parts of Luther's German translation of the Bible, printed during his life.[5]

(5) Adleri Bibliotheca Biblica serenissimi Würtembergensium Ducis, olim Lorckiana, sec. xxviii. pt. iii. pp. 7—22.

The following anecdotes, relative to the king of Wurtemberg's Library, will be interesting to the Biblical student. In 1768, Charles, the late duke of Wurtemberg, who was distinguished for his knowledge and love of books, began to collect for his library at Stutgard, which in 1804 contained upwards of 100,000 volumes, and was every day increasing. The duke travelled into various countries, and purchased books at very high prices. The collection of *Bibles* is unique, and comprises upwards of 9000 different editions; and 3000 more were said to be wanting in 1804, to complete the collection. In 1784, the duke went to Copenhagen, where he purchased the collection of Bibles which had been made by a clergyman of the name of Lorck, amounting to more than 4000 editions; and shortly after bought M. Panzer's collection, consisting of 1645 volumes. Of that part of the *Biblical* collection which the duke purchased of the Rev. Mr. Lorck, Adler printed the above-mentioned catalogue, comprising notices of 5155 articles, in 4to. at Altona, in 1787. Bishop Marsh pronounces it "a catalogue of great merit, and great utility." As it is become rare, even on the Continent, an analysis of it from one now before me may be acceptable to the reader.

The *First Part*, containing the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Oriental* versions, has the following list of dialects and editions, comprehending 998 articles:

Editions of the whole, or distinct parts of the Bible.

	No. of editions.		No. of editions.
Polyglott Bibles, &c.	119	Ethiopic	13
Hebrew	267	Persian	7
Greek	346	Turkish	6
Modern Greek	8	Coptic	1
Hebrew Versions	17	Armenian	5
Greek, (Old Testament)	51	Tamul	13
Chaldee	22	Hindoostanee	6
Samaritan (Fragments)	4	Malayan	14
Syriac	35	Cingalese	1
Arabic	28	Jewish-German	35

An edition of Luther's German translation of the Bible, so far as had then appeared, including the whole, except the *Prophets*, was printed at Nuremberg, by Peypus, in 1524, *fol.* A copy of this early edition is in the magnificent library of Lord Spencer. Dibdin (Biblioth. Spencer. vol. I. p. 62)

The *Second Part* contains the *Latin* and its dialects; including 1157 articles, viz.

	No. of editions.		No. of editions.
Latin Bibles, &c.	790	Italian	43
Portuguese	18	French	290
Spanish	15	Rhætian	1

The *Third Part* exhibits the *Teutonic*, or *German* versions, and contains 1158 articles, viz.

Ancient German	23	German Reformers	43
Luther's German version, edited during his life	124	Heterodox, as Socinians, &c.	55
after his death	657	Orthodox	95
Catholic versions	46	Saxon Bibles	115

The *Fourth Part* includes the other *European* dialects, and the *American*, comprising 774 articles, viz.

English	215	Bohemian	21
Dutch	274	Wendish, or Sorabic	10
Danish	116	Polish	20
Icelandic	14	Lithuanian	6
Greenlandish	3	Lettonian	7
Creole	2	Esthonian	4
Fanteic, or Acraic	1	Hungarian	7
Swedish	45	Welsh	5
Finnish	6	Irish	1
Lapponic	3	Cantabrian, or Basque	1
Russian	8	North-American Indian	2
Croatian	3		

The *Appendixes*, which comprise 1045 articles, contain in various languages,

Apocryphal Books	111	Dutch	84
Poetical Paraphrases, chiefly Psalms		Danish	21
Polyglott	1	Bohemian	1
Greek	55	Polish	2
Latin	201	Malay	1
Spanish	4	Erse	1
Portuguese	1	Hungarian	2
Italian	9	Harmonies of the Bible	73
French	104	Concordances of the Bible	29
German	105	Histories of the Bible	39
English	33	Books of Images, or Figures	168

observes, "they are a magnificent production; being printed in a large type, with jet-black ink, upon stout excellent *vellum*, and having a great number of capital initials, spiritedly cut in wood, which contain historical or other subjects, treated of in each chapter. They have signatures, catch-words, and paginary numbers."—Respecting the edition of 1539, Luther wrote to his friend Pontanus on the 20th of September, of that year, in which he thus expresses his desire: "I hope the Anhalt noblemen and gentlemen will take care that there be at least *three* copies of this edition *printed upon vellum;* for each of which it may be necessary to procure 340 *calves-skins*, formerly to be procured for 60 florins, but now indeed at four times that price." See *Seckendorf's Com.* lib. i. pp. 203, 204; lib. iii. p. 254.[6]

Of the later editions, that of 1541 was the one upon which Luther bestowed the greatest care in revising and correcting. It was printed in 2 vols. folio, and ornamented with wood-cuts. An unique copy upon *vellum*, of this edition, was in the possession of the late James Edwards, Esq. of Manor House, Harrow-on-the-Hill. At the sale of his rare collection of books, it was purchased by George Hibbert, Esq. for £89. 5. 6. The account of it in the catalogue of Mr. Edwards' library, must interest every Biblical scholar in its fate: it is there described as "the first edition of Luther's translation of the Bible, after his final revision. *His own copy which he used till his decease.* This copy," it is added, "must always excite the deepest interest and most lively emotions, in the breast of every Protestant. The *Manuscript Notes*, prefixed to each volume, seem to introduce us to the

---

The *Supplement* contains, beside *Commentaries* on some of the Canonical Books, and Poetical Paraphrases of the Psalms, 1 *Syriac* version of the Gospels; 1 *Tamul* version of the Old Testament to Job inclusive; 1 *Cingalese* version of several portions of the New Testament; 1 *Malay* version of the New Testament; Books of Prints, &c.

(6) Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron, I. p. 164, *note.*

closest acquaintance with a bright assemblage of reformers. We find Luther exhibiting in the privacy of retirement, the same unshaken confidence in the Deity under the persecutions he was suffering, as he nobly evinced in public. In a *manuscript note* in the second volume, he transcribes the [4th] verse of the xxiii. Psalm, 'Etiam quum ambularem per vallem lethalis umbræ, non timerem malum, quia tu mecum es;' and then adds a passage strongly indicative of his own exalted ideas of faith. He appears to have bequeathed this copy to Bugenhagen, who, on the 19th of May, 1556, wrote in it a pious distich, and some religious sentiments, in which he denies the necessity of profane learning. The illustrious Melancthon was its next possessor. He writes a remarkable passage relative to the final consummation of all things, and intimates his belief, that the end of the world is not far distant, adding, 'May Jesus Christ, the Son of Almighty God, preserve and protect his poor flock. Scriptum manu Philippi, 1557.' The same year it passed into the hands of George Major, another reformer, who has written in it a compendious exposition of his faith, signed with his name. In this version Luther omits the contested verse relative to the *three heavenly witnesses*." * 1 John v. 7.[7] It is a singular coincidence, that in the library of the king of Wurtemberg, there is a copy of the edition of 1545, in which the same reformers, Luther, Bugenhagen, Melancthon, and George Major, have likewise written manuscript notes.[8]

Different opinions have been formed of the style and correctness of Luther's version, and it might be expected that his adversaries would endeavour to depreciate his version, yet even the papal historian, Maimbourg, acknow-

* Walch says, the first edition of Luther's translation, in which this verse was inserted, was the Wittemberg edition of 1596. See Walchii *Biblioth. Theolog.* IV. cap. viii. p. 86.

(7) Gentleman's Magazine, LXXXV. p. 284. *Bibliotheca Edwardsiana.*

(8) Adleri Biblioth. Biblica, &c. sec. xxviii. p. 12.

ledges, that Luther's translations of the Old and New Testament were remarkably elegant, and in general so much approved, that they were read by almost every body throughout Germany. Women of the first distinction studied them with indefatigable diligence, and steadily defended the tenets of the reformer against bishops, monks, and catholic doctors.[9] The dialect of the translation became the literary language of the most elegant German writers, and has maintained its superiority to the present time. Of this last instance of the popularity of the important version of Luther, a modern grammarian thus expresses himself: "There existed, about the time of the Reformation, three grand divisions of the German language, viz. the Upper German, *(Ober Deutsch,)* the Low German, *(Nieder Deutsch,* or *Platt Deutsch,)* and lastly the High German *(Hoch Deutsch)*. Before that era, every literary production which was composed in the German tongue, was written in the Upper German; this was the vehicle of literature in that country. The High German was the native dialect of Luther, and by the influence of his example, it began to rise up into competition with the former idiom, and was soon spread throughout the whole nation. The BIBLE, and other works of great interest at that period, published in this dialect, and the number of protestant divines which issued from the electorate of Saxony, tended to make it known even in the remoter parts of the country. It was read and understood every where, and by degrees cultivated as the general language of all Germany. It drove the Upper German from that preeminence which it had hitherto occupied, and in its stead, possessed itself of the fields of literature and science."[10]

The chief coadjutors of Luther in the laborious task of translation, and in the subsequent revisions, were

(9) Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, V. ch. xvi. p. 84.
(10) Noehden's Grammar of the German Language, *Introd.* pp. 3, 4.

PHILIP MELANCTHON; JOHN BUGENHAGEN or POMERANUS; JUSTUS JONAS; CASPER CRUCIGER; and MATTHEW AUROGALLUS. The corrector of the press was GEORGE RORAR, or RORARIUS.

The amiable and profoundly learned PHILIP MELANCTHON, (or according to the German name, SCHWARTZERDE,) was born at Bretten, a small town in the Palatinate of the Rhine, in the year 1497. His early proficiency in learning was such, that at *twelve* years of age he became a student at the university of Heidelberg; he afterwards removed to Tubingen, where he was admitted in 1513, to a master's degree. He immediately began to give lectures, as a public tutor, on Virgil and Terence, the latter of which occasioned him some labour; for so low was the state of literature at this period, that the text of that poet had actually been printed in the manner of a prose writer, and of course the versification had been wholly destroyed. Melancthon first pointed out to the students the diversified Iambic measure, employed by Terence, and then proceeded with great labour and perseverance, to restore the whole text to its metrical arrangement. He afterwards delivered lectures on select parts of Cicero's works; and on the first six books of Livy's history: he also edited different classical authors.* At the age of *twenty-one*, he was chosen professor of Greek in the university of Wittemberg, at the instance of the celebrated Reuchlin, to whom he was on several accounts under peculiar obligation.

In the midst of his classical and scientific engagements,

* A beautifully executed *Variorum* copy of Cicero *De Officiis*, is in the possession of the writer of the present work, with the *Notes* of Melancthon amongst others, printed by Thomas Richards, Paris 1550, 4to. *Cum privilegio Regis.* This rare edition has also the works *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Somnio Scipionis,* by the same printer, and of the same date; and *Paradoxa,* by John L. Tiletan, 1546, Paris. The *Text* of the works printed by Richards, is in a well defined open Roman type, and the *Notes* in a small neat *Italic*; the *Greek* quotations are clear and good.

the mind of Melancthon had been early imbued with a knowledge and love of the Scriptures. When but a boy, Reuchlin had presented him with a small *Bible*, printed at Basil, at the press of Frobenius. This he carried about with him continually, and read it with eagerness wherever he came, so that from the attention he paid to it at church, he was suspected of reading profane authors, instead of repeating the offices of devotion. In the margin of his Bible he inserted such explanatory hints as occurred to his own reflections, or appeared to be of sufficient importance in the authors which he perused. Thus his mind became prepared for receiving the doctrines of Luther, with whom he was associated in the university of Wittemberg.

In 1520, Melancthon delivered a course of lectures on the *Epistle to the Romans*, which Luther afterwards published without his knowledge. But so rare was the word of God, and so seldom to be obtained, especially in the *Original* languages, at the time he began to proclaim the TRUTH, that he was obliged to print select parts of the *Greek Testament*, for the use of the students in the university who attended his lectures. The *Epistle to the Romans* was edited by him in 1520; the *first Epistle to the Corinthians* in 1521; the *second Epistle* separately, the same year; and also the *Epistle to the Colossians*.[11]

In 1527, John, elector of Saxony, appointed Melancthon, in conjunction with other grave and learned divines, to visit and reform the churches throughout that electorate. Afterwards he was employed to draw up the *Augsburg Confession*, in which it is allowed he has represented the sentiments of the reformers with great elegance, perspicuity, and strength; and which received its name from being presented, in 1530, to the emperor, at the diet held in that city, as the confession of faith of those who from having *protested* against the decree of the diet of Spires,

(11) Clarke's Bibliographical Dictionary, VI. p. 194.

in 1529, had received the honourable denomination of PROTESTANTS.

After powerfully contributing by his talents, learning, and influence, to the spread of truth and the reformation of religion, this great and good man was called to his eternal rest, on the 19th of April, 1560; and his remains were interred in the presence of multitudes of real mourners, in the church of the castle at Wittemberg.

His works were collected by his son-in-law, Casper Peucer, and printed at Wittemberg in 1601, in 4 vols. folio.[12]

JOHN BUGENHAGEN was a native of Pomerania, from whence he was sometimes called POMERANUS. He was born June 24th, 1485. He made considerable progress in learning, and became distinguished as rector of the school at Treptow. When Luther's treatise on the "Babylonish Captivity" came out in 1521, and he had read only a few pages of it, he exclaimed, "The author of this book is the most pestilent heretic that ever infested the church of Christ." After a few days he read it more carefully, and was induced to read it again and again, with the closest attention, and at length ingenuously recanted his opinion in the following strong terms: "The whole world is blind, and involved in Cimmerian darkness; and this man alone sees the truth." From this time he embraced the doctrines of Luther, and became the strenuous advocate of *Justification by faith.* "I am convinced," says he, "that the Holy Ghost is with Luther; he is a man of an honest, holy, firm, and invincible spirit."

During many years he had been much given to prayer and the study of the Scriptures. At the age of thirty-six he removed to Wittemberg, was chosen parochial minis-

(12) Melchior. Adami Vitæ Germ. Theolog. pp. 327—361, Francofurt, 1653.
Cox's Life of Melancthon, pp. 28, 29.

ter of the great church, and with much piety and usefulness discharged the duties of his station for thirty-six years.

After the translation of the Scriptures into the *German* language had been completed, in which he had been one of Luther's active coadjutors, he annually celebrated the day on which it was finished, by inviting his friends to partake of a feast conducted with cheerful gravity, and designated THE FESTIVAL OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

His piety, judgment, and intrepidity, caused him to be frequently employed in regulating and reforming different churches throughout Germany. Christian, or Christiern III. king of Denmark, invited him to Copenhagen, where Bugenhagen crowned the king, and afterwards ordained the seven superintendants of the Danish church. Henry, duke of Brunswick, also appointed him, with others, to inspect and regulate the churches under his government.

The last year of his life he was too feeble to sustain the labours of public preaching, he nevertheless visited the church daily, and commended it and himself to God by prayer; and, when necessary, attended the pastoral deliberations. In April he became too weak to leave his bed, and on the 20th of that month, in the year 1558, calmly resigned his spirit to God who gave it, frequently repeating, "This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent." He retained his mental powers in their full vigour to the close of life, evidencing the most ardent attachment to the doctrines of the Reformation.

He was the author of *Commentaries* on several parts of the *Old and New Testament*, and of some smaller works.[13]

(13) M. Adami Vit. Germ. Theolog. pp. 311—319.
Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, V. p. 568.

JODOCUS, or JUSTUS JONAS, was the intimate friend of Erasmus, Luther, and Melancthon. He was born at Northausen, in Thuringia, June 5th, 1493. He applied himself first to the law, but soon quitted it for the study of divinity, by which means he became one of the zealous friends and disciples of Luther. In 1521, he was made president or principal of the college of Wittemberg. To this presidentship belonged the profession of the canon law; but as Jonas chose to employ his time in studying the Scriptures, and reading lectures in divinity to the students every day, he insisted upon giving up a portion of his salary to a lecturer in the canon law, and refused to accept the presidentship on any other terms. He wrote *Annotations upon the Acts of the Apostles*, printed at Basil, 1525, 8vo. He was also the author of a *Defence of the Marriage of Priests*, and several other tracts. He died October 9th, 1555.[14]

CASPAR CRUCIGER, whose extensive and multifarious learning rendered him the able advocate of the Lutheran doctrines, was a native of Leipsic, where he was born January 1st, 1504. His native city was the scene of his first studies. After having acquired a knowledge of Latin and Greek, he repaired to Wittemberg, and not only perfected himself in those languages but gained an accurate acquaintance with the Hebrew, so that he is said to have possessed a fluency in them all, equal to that of his mother tongue. At the diet of Worms he attended in the capacity of notary; and was on other occasions so indefatigable a scribe, that it was to him the public owed copies of the chief part of the expositions and sermons delivered by Luther, in the university and church of Wittemberg. He was appointed rector of the school of Magdeburg, and gave great satisfaction in the discharge of the office; but a thirst for information induced him to return to Wit-

(14) M. Adami Vit. Germ. Theolog. pp. 258—261.
Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, IV, p. 627.

temberg. The same passion led him to add the study of the mathematics, and even of medicine, to his theological labours. For several years in the latter part of his life, he held the station of rector in the university, and filled the office with eminent prudence, diligence, and success; but his incessant application and exertions probably hastened his end, since he died in 1548, when only in the forty-fifth year of his age.[15]

MATTHEW AUROGALLUS, a native of Bohemia, was a divine of Wittemberg, eminent for his knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues. He died in 1543. He was the author of a work on *the Hebrew names of countries, cities, rivers, mountains, &c. mentioned in the Old Testament*, printed at Wittemberg, 1526, 8vo. and again with improvements, at Basil, 1539, 8vo.; and of a *Compendium of the Hebrew and Chaldee Grammar*, Wittemberg, 1525, 8vo.; Basil, 1539, 8vo.[16]

GEORGE RORAR, or RORARIUS, the learned corrector of the press at Wittemberg, born October 1st, 1492, was a clergyman of the Lutheran church, ordained in 1525. He not only carefully guarded against typographical errors, in the editions which he superintended, but after the decease of Luther, added several *Marginal Notes* to his translation; and with the knowledge and consent of the Wittemberg doctors of divinity, made some alterations in the translation itself. He also enlarged Caspar Cruciger's edition of Luther's Exposition of *St. Peter's Epistle*, from discourses which he had heard delivered by Luther; and assisted in editing other works of the Great Reformer. On the removal of the public library from Wittemberg to Jena, he was appointed librarian. He died on the 24th of April, 1557, in the 65th

(15) M. Adami Vit. Germ. Theolog. pp. 192—199.
Bower's Life of Luther, App. pp. 443, 444. Lond. 1813, 8vo.
(16) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, II. p. 620. Paris, 1723, fol.
Chalmers, III. p. 196.

year of his age. He had been amanuensis to Luther.[17]

Luther was likewise occasionally assisted in his translation by JOHN FORSTER, the intimate friend of Reuchlin, and author of a valuable *Hebrew Lexicon*, printed at Basil, 1557, fol. Forster was born at Augsburg in 1495. He taught Hebrew at Wittemberg, where he died in 1556.[18]

BERNARD ZIEGLER also contributed his aid to the same great work. He was a native of Misnia, professor of theology at Leipsic, and an able supporter of the doctrines of the Reformation. He died in 1556, aged 60. He was the author of some theological works, now almost forgotten.[19]

The publication of Luther's *German* version of the Scriptures roused the Catholics to the most virulent opposition, and every measure was adopted that was likely to disparage the translation, and prevent its circulation amongst the people. JEROM EMSER, one of the counsellors of George, duke of Saxony, and professor of the canon laws at Leipsic; and JOHN COCHLÆUS, chaplain to the duke, and afterwards dean of the collegiate church of Frankfort, attacked it in terms of calumnious severity. Emser, affirmed, that the heresies and falsehoods of the translation amounted to fourteen hundred; Cochlæus estimated them only at a thousand! But critical notes were not deemed adequate to the exigency of the case; Emser therefore, under the patronage and sanction of George of Saxony, and two bishops, produced what was called, A CORRECT TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT INTO GERMAN, with annotations, printed at Dresden, 1527, fol. In this work Emser asserts, "That he had

(17) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. pp. 384. 385. Paris, 1723.
Freheri Theatrum, pt. i. p. 173.
Walchii Biblioth. Theologica, IV. p. 741.
(18) M. Adami Vit. Germ. Theolog. pp. 302—305.
(19) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. p. 384.
Lempriere's Universal Biography, art. *Ziegler*.

confuted Luther's interpretations of the Scriptures, and opposed to them his own, constantly following that sense of any passage which the church approved. That, however, he was by no means convinced of the expediency of trusting the Scriptures with the ignorant multitude; for that the Sacred Writings were an abyss, in whose depths even the most learned men had often been lost." "If the laity," said he, "would but take my advice, I would recommend it to them rather to aim at a holy life, than to study the Scriptures. The Scriptures are committed to the learned, and to them only." Emser's translation was, nevertheless, little more than a republication of the version of Luther, altered in some places to meet the views of the Catholics; so that whilst he condemned the work of the reformer, he actually passed the highest encomium upon it, by republishing the principal part of it as his own. Luther was sensible of this, and thus expresses himself respecting it: "He has left out my preface, inserted his own, and then sold my translation almost word for word. The best revenge which I can wish for is, that though Luther's name is suppressed, and that of his adversary put in its place, yet Luther's book is read, and thus the design of his labours is promoted by his very enemies."[20]

Several editions of Emser's *New Testament* were speedily printed; and in 1530, the monks of Rostock published a version of it in *the dialect of* LOWER SAXONY, in 8vo. Alterations were also made in many of the later editions, so that they varied exceedingly from those of earlier date.[21] A *German* version of the *whole* Bible was undertaken and published at the request of Albert II. by JOHN DIETENBERG, a Dominican monk, and professor of theology,* with the same design as that of Emser's *New Testament*. It was printed at

(20) Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, V. ch. viii. pp. 84—87.
(21) Walchii Biblioth. Theolog. IV. p. 161.

* He died A. D. 1534.

Mentz, 1534, fol. Dr. Geddes calls it "a bad transcript, or rather miserable interpolation of Luther's;" and Caspar Ulenberg, who undertook a German translation, by order of Ferdinand, elector and archbishop of Cologne, in 1614, declared, "that it was impossible to render it conformable to the Vulgate; and that it would be easier to make a new translation of the whole Bible."[22] JOHN ECKIUS, or ECKEN, another of Luther's opponents, published a *German* translation of the *Old Testament*, in 1537, fol.; to which he subjoined a corrected edition of Emser's translation of the *New Testament*.[23]

Whilst the more learned adversaries of Luther were thus zealously engaged in their literary endeavours to check the progress, and discountenance the perusal, of Luther's translation, the powerful aid of civil authority was called in to assist the design. The duke George of Saxony persecuted, with unrelenting severity, the clergy of his district who were inclined to Lutheranism; recalled the students from the schools and universities where the doctrines of Luther were supposed to prevail; and, with a view to destroy Luther's version of the New Testament, purchased as many copies of it as he could collect, and severely punished such of his subjects as refused to deliver them up. As soon as Emser's revision of the New Testament was ready for publication, he issued a proclamation, in which he treated Luther and his disciples with the most virulent language; accused him of being the author of the fanatical and seditious commotions which had lately occurred; and laid particular stress on the mischief, which he affirmed, Luther had done to Christianity, by his version of the New Testament; vindicating his prohibition of the use of it, by saying that "he acted in obedi-

(22) Walchii Biblioth. Theolog. IV. p. 109.
Geddes's Prospectus, pp. 107.
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. pp. 379, 380. Paris, 1723.

(23) Le Long p. 379.

ence to the late edict of Nuremberg, agreeably to what was the acknowledged duty of every German prince." This edict of Nuremberg was the one issued at the diet held in that city, by the pope's legate, in 1523, by which, among other things, it was decreed, "That printers should print no new things for the future; and that some holy and learned men, appointed for the purpose by the magistrates, within their several jurisdictions, should peruse and examine what came from the press, and that what they disapproved should not be sold." The edict being variously interpreted, Luther wrote to the princes who had sanctioned the diet, acquainting them that he had reverently and with pleasure read it, and also proposed it to the church of Wittemberg; but that since some persons of the highest quality refused to obey it, and put various constructions upon it, he thought it prudent to declare his judgment respecting its meaning, which he hoped would be consonant to their own. After this introduction, he stated the articles of the edict, and proposed his opinions as to the sense of them, and, in particular, respecting the decree before mentioned, observed, "That whereas they had decreed, That no more books should be published, unless they were first approved and licensed by learned men chosen for that purpose, he was not, indeed, against it; but, however, that he understood it so as not at all to be extended to the books of the Holy Scripture; for that the publishing of those could not be prohibited."[24]

This opposition of the civil authority to the dissemination of Luther's translation of the Bible, was promoted by Henry VIII. king of England. For, exasperated by the *Reply* of the reformer to his *Answer* to Luther's treatise *On the Babylonish Captivity*, Henry complained to the elector Frederic, and to the dukes John his brother,

(24) Sleidan's Hist. of Reformation, translated by Bohun, B. iv. p. 64. Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, V. pp. 83. 85.

and George his uncle, of the conduct of Luther. "All Germany," he said, "was in the utmost danger from the spreading of his doctrines. Moreover, they ought by no means to allow Luther's false translations of the New Testament to be dispersed among their subjects." The duke George heartily concurred in the censure of Henry, and returned for answer, "That he had punished the bookseller who first imported and sold an impression of Luther's Testament among his subjects."[25]

Prince Ferdinand of Austria, the Emperor's brother, issued an edict, forbidding the subjects of his imperial majesty to have any copy of Luther's German version of the Scriptures in their possession; and extending the interdiction to the rest of his writings. A similar proclamation was published by Anthony, duke of Lorrain, commanding, That since Luther's doctrine was condemned by the Pope, and the Emperor, as well as by the most famous universities, none of his subjects should in their sermons teach any such doctrine; and that they also who had any of *Luther's books*, should bring them in by a certain day, or otherwise incur the penalty by him appointed.[26]

Happily, the injury done to the cause of the Reformation, by these interdictions, was more than outweighed by the redoubled zeal of the advocates of the translations of Scripture. They accounted it honourable to devote themselves to preaching and commenting on the Sacred Volume, and their ministrations were received with cordiality and joy. Others, who had a poetical turn, composed *Hymns* and *Sacred Ballads*,* to be put into the

(25) Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, V. pp. 355, 356.
(26) Cox's Life of Melancthon, p. 228.
Sleidan's Hist. of the Reformation, B. iv. p. 75.

* The word *Ballad* in our language was formerly used to signify a *Sacred Song*. Thus, in the old English translations of the Bible, Solomon's Song is called *the Ballet of Ballets*. Such was the opinion the patriotic Fletcher of Saltoun entertained of the influence of *Ballads*

hands of poor people, who made a livelihood by singing them through the country; and perhaps a more effectual way of rendering Scripture history familiar to the minds of the lower orders of society, cannot easily be imagined. Among those who exerted themselves in turning such subjects into verse, was *Paul Spretter*, a man of rank, from Suabia, who was indefatigable in forwarding the Lutheran cause in Prussia. On one occasion, it is related, that a poor man who had received the printed copies of the rhymes, repaired to Wittemberg, and in the course of his progress through the town, sung them under Luther's window. The attention of the reformer was caught by the subject; he listened with pleasure to the song, and when, on inquiry, he learned the name of its author, he is said to have burst into tears, and rendered thanks to God, for making such humble expedients conducive to the propagation of truth.[27]

Luther's fondness for music is universally known, and the *Old Hundredth Psalm Tune*, which tradition attributes to him, remains a singular instance of his skill in that science. In an evening, before parting from his family and his friends, he usually sang a hymn; and in his hours of dejection, music frequently proved a delightful restorative. A short time before he ventured to administer the Lord's Supper, in the German language, he composed and printed a very useful little book, containing thirty-eight *German Hymns*, with their appropriate tunes,*

upon the inferior classes, that he is reported to have said, "if he could but make the *Ballads* of a nation, he would care very little who made the *Religion* of it. *Encyc. Perth.* v. "Ballad."

(27) Bower's Life of Luther, pp. 205, 206.

* The following testimony of HANDEL to the excellence of LUTHER'S musical compositions, is given in a letter of Sir John Pringle's to J. D. Michaelis, dated 1769. "The late Mr. Handel, that celebrated musician, told me, that Luther had even composed the music of his Psalms and Hymns, and which he said was so excellent in its way, that he had often borrowed from it, and inserted whole passages in his oratorios." *Literarischer Briefwechsel von J. D. Michaelis*, II. p. 240. Leipsig, 1795, 12mo.

comprising a summary of Christian doctrines, expressed in elegant German metre. In the preface, he supports the duty of church music on the authority of David and Paul, but reminds us, that in this devotional exercise, our eyes should be directed to Christ alone. "He had subjoined the suitable *tunes*," he says, "to show that the fine arts were by no means abolished through the preaching of the Gospel; but that, in particular, the art of music should be employed to the glory of God; though he knew this sentiment was contrary to the romantic ideas of some teachers, who were disposed to allow nothing but what was purely intellectual."[28] He endeavoured to introduce the singing of Psalms into the public services of religion, for this end he partly translated, and partly procured to be translated, the whole of the PSALMS into German verse. For the versification, he invited the assistance of Spalatin, and of another friend named Dolzy; and for the composition of the tunes, of which he was an excellent judge, he engaged a person of the name of John Walther. He thus addressed Spalatin: "In my judgment, we ought to copy the examples of the Prophets and Fathers of the church, by composing psalms or spiritual songs, in the vernacular tongue, for the use of the common people, that the Word of God may be sung among them. We are, therefore, inquiring for poets; and since you are favoured with fluency and elegance in the German language, improved by frequent use, we intreat you to assist us, and to endeavour to versify some of the *Psalms*, in a similar way to that which I send you. I wish novel and courtly terms to be avoided, and simple, common, and well-chosen words to be sung by the multitude. The sense should be clear, and express the mind of the psalmist, adopting the meaning in preference to the words. I have little, but good wishes, yet what I can do, I am

(28) Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, V. p. 392.

willing to do, and I will make an attempt, if you will be Asaph, Heman, or Jeduthun." His wishes succeeded; and his pains were amply rewarded, by the version becoming exceedingly popular.[29]

In order to spread more generally the Sacred Writings, and to direct the attention of those who read them to the truths they contained, Luther, at different periods, published *Commentaries* upon particular parts of them. The first which appeared was the *Commentary on the Galatians*, in 1519. It had been prepared for the press by those who had attended his lectures, and when shewn to him, he allowed its accuracy, and consented to its publication. He afterwards considerably enlarged it, and printed it at Wittemberg, 1535, 8vo. The other parts of the Scriptures upon which he wrote commentaries, were *Genesis, Deuteronomy, the greater part of the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Solomon's Song, Isaiah, part of Daniel, the Twelve Minor Prophets; some Chapters of the Gospels of Matthew and John, the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians, the Epistles of Peter, John, and Jude.* In the commentary on *Deuteronomy*, he has the following judicious directions and remarks: "Let the Christian reader's first object always be to find out the *literal meaning* of the WORD OF GOD; for this, and this alone, is the whole foundation of faith, and of Christian theology. It is the very substance of Christianity; the only thing which stands its ground in distress and temptation: it is what overcomes the gates of hell together with sin and death, and triumphs, to the praise and glory of God. Allegories are often of a doubtful nature, depending on human conjecture and opinion; for which reason Jerom, and Origen, and other Fathers of the same stamp, nay, I may add, all the old Alexandrian school, should be read with the greatest caution. An excessive esteem for these

(29) M. Adami Vit. Germ. Theolog. p. 163.
Bower's Life of Luther, p. 231.

has gradually introduced a most mischievous taste among later writers, who have gone such lengths, as to support the most extravagant absurdities by Scriptural expressions. Jerom complains of this practice in his own time, and yet he himself is guilty of it. In our days there are some commentators, who, wherever they find in Scripture a word of the feminine gender, understand it to mean the Virgin Mary; and hence, almost all the revealed Word is made to treat of the Blessed Virgin. Wherefore we ought always to observe St. Paul's rule, not to build upon wood, hay, and stubble, but upon gold, silver, and precious stones; that is, an allegory should never be made the foundation of any doctrine, but be introduced as a secondary thing, to confirm, to adorn, to enrich a Christian article of faith. Never produce an allegory to support your sentiment; on the contrary, take care that your allegory rest on some just sentiment as a foundation, which, by its aptness and similitude, it is calculated to illustrate."[30] Most of Luther's *Commentaries* were written in Latin, and afterwards translated into German by his friends.

The pious and fearless zeal of this reformer was crowned, by the great Head of the church, with a success equal to his most sanguine expectations; and he lived to see the cause of Scriptural truth embraced, not only by several of the German states, but by many of the other nations of Europe. The papal power, which had exercised despotic sway over the mightiest monarchs of the world, was deprived of its extensive influence; and the thunders of the Vatican rolled over the heads of the *Reformed* without exciting the least alarm. The Scriptures of truth were generally circulated, and placed in the hands of persons of every rank, and age, and sex, by

(30) Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, V, p. 383.
Bower's Hist. of Luther, pp. 117, 118.
See also Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra; and Walch, Biblioth. Theolog.

translations into the vernacular dialects, the copies of which were rapidly multiplied by the labours of the press; and the traditions of Rome gave place to the Gospel of Christ. But whilst Luther was continuing his important exertions in favour of religion and truth, his incessant occupations and intensity of thought were undermining his constitution, and hastening his death. In 1545, his health began to suffer considerably from severe attacks of the stone, and of violent head-aches. Early in the following year he visited Eisleben, his native place, at the request of the counts of Mansfeld; but his strength was exhausted by the journey; and on the 18th of February 1546, he expired. Justus Jonas preached the funeral sermon; and after the removal of the body to Wittemberg, Melancthon pronounced the funeral oration; and the corpse was committed to the grave by several members of the university, amid the most unfeigned expressions of sorrow and regret; princes and nobles, doctors and students, mingling their tears with the thousands of people, who wept over the remains of the man of God.[31]

After the decease of Luther, his great work, the *German Translation of the Scriptures*, was circulated through the Germanic states, with a diligence and assiduity, at least equal to that which had been manifested during his life. Before his death, one or more European versions had been made from his translation; it afterwards became the ground-work of others. Walch enumerates the *Low-Saxon*, the *Pomeranian*, the *Danish*, the *Icelandic*, *the Swedish*, the *Belgic* or *Dutch*, the *Lithuanian*, the *Sorabic* or *Wendish*, the *Finnish*, and the *Lettish*.[32] Of

(31) Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, IV. and V.; Bower's Life of Luther; and Melchior Adam's Life of Luther, in his *Vit. Germ. Theolog.* are the works to which the Writer is chiefly indebted, in addition to those already quoted, for the above account of this great reformer; except that he has occasionally consulted Seckendorf's *Comment. on Maimbourg's Hist. of Lutheranism.*

(32) Walchii Biblioth. Theolog. IV. pp. 95—99.

these, we shall at present notice only the *Low-Saxon*, the *Swedish*, and *Danish*, the two former being undertaken during the life of Luther, and the latter being completed under the inspection of one of Luther's coadjutors in his German translation.

Editions of the Bible in the LOW-SAXON dialect, had been printed at Lubeck, in 1494, and at Halberstad, in 1522, 2 vols. fol.; but as the translation had been made prior to the Reformation, Bugenhagen, at the request of Luther, superintended a new translation, to which he added a *Preface, Short Notes*, and *Summaries*. It was printed at Lubeck, 1533—4, fol. The names of the translators do not appear to have been preserved from oblivion among men, but they live before Him, who is "not unrighteous to forget their work and labour of love."

There had also some parts of the Scriptures been printed by the reformers, in the *Low-Saxon* dialect, prior to the version of the *whole* Bible by Bugenhagen. In the king of Wurtemberg's library, we find, the PENTATEUCH printed 1523, fol., the NEW TESTAMENT, 1525, 4to. and 1523, 1526, 1529, 8vo. by Bugenhagen.[34]

The SWEDISH translation was commenced under the sanction of the king GUSTAVUS VASA. This excellent and patriotic monarch, the son of a Swedish nobleman, had been raised to the throne in the place of Christiern, king of Denmark, who had usurped the sceptre, and exercised the most revolting severities upon the nation he had conquered. During the usurpation of Christiern, Gustavus had been in prison and in exile, and at one period had entered among the miners, and wrought as a slave under ground. Whilst an exile at Lubeck, he had gained some information respecting the doctrines of Luther, which he afterwards embraced, and on obtaining the throne, deter-

(33) Walchii Biblioth. Theolog. IV. p. 95.
(34) Adleri Biblioth. Biblica,—olim Lorckiana, sec. 33. pp. 203. 207, 208, 209.

mined to support. His first object was the dissemination of the Scriptures throughout his dominions. To effect this, he ordered them to be translated into SWEDISH. This was begun in 1523, by LAURENTIUS ANDREAS; who is said to have completed the version of the NEW TESTAMENT, which was printed at Stockholm, in 1526, fol. The translation was afterwards carried on, and the whole revised and finished, by LAURENTIUS and OLAUS PETRI, and printed at Upsal, 1541, fol. On the occasion of the translation of the New Testament, Gustavus exhibited a rare instance of equity and candour, for though he ordered this translation to be made according to the Lutheran version, he at the same time enjoined JOHANNES GOTHUS, the archbishop of Upsal, to prepare another version, suited to the doctrines and views of the church of Rome; that by a careful comparison of both translations with the original, an easier access might be opened to the truth; urging, among other reasons, that almost all other nations had the New Testament in the vulgar tongue; that without it the common people could not easily discover the errors which then afflicted the church; and that even the ignorance of many of the priests rendered such a step necessary to enable them to feed their flocks with wholesome food, without which they could not justly be regarded as pastors. For some time the archbishop resisted the royal mandate; but at length, fearing the displeasure of the king, he distributed the New Testament, in various portions, among the fathers of the cathedral churches, and the different orders of monks, to be translated into Swedish by the 8th of September following. (1525.) This translation does not appear to have been completed; though it is said, a Catholic doctor, called PETER BENEDICT, prepared a version of the *New Testament*, aided by an old translation, supposed to be the one made by Matthias of Lincopen or Lindkoping, for St. Bridget. The archbishop, however, preferring a volun-

tary exile to an adoption of the measures of the monarch, secretly quitted the kingdom; but returned from Italy to Dantzic in 1534. He died at Rome, March 22nd, 1544.[35]

LAURENTIUS ANDREAS was a native of Sweden, and a priest of the church of Strengnas. Afterwards he became archdeacon of Upsal; and at length was chosen to be chancellor by Gustavus I.[36]

LAURENTIUS and OLAUS PETRI were brothers, born in Nericia, a province of Sweden. They both studied at Wittemberg, where they imbibed the doctrines of the Reformation from the lectures of Luther himself. OLAUS was the herald of the reformed religion in Sweden, in which he was powerfully seconded by the brave and public-spirited Gustavus. Under the auspices of the monarch a public disputation was held at Upsal, between OLAUS, in support of Luther's system, and PETER GALLE, as defender of the papal dogmas. In this contest Olaus obtained a signal victory, which contributed greatly to confirm Gustavus in his views of the Lutheran doctrines, and to spread them more generally through the nation. The Reformation being established in Sweden by the prudence and firmness of Gustavus, aided by the counsels of Olaus, this eminent reformer, who had been one of the pastors of the church, was appointed Secretary of Stockholm. In this elevated situation, he applied himself with vigour and discretion, to the promotion of religion, and the dissemination of Scriptural truth. At his instance, in the year 1529, a new *Ritual* was published in the Swedish language, in which the official rules for marriage, baptism, burial of the dead, and the administration of the Lord's supper, were much cleared from Romish supersti-

(35) Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. IV. pp. 79, 80.
Acta Eruditor. An. 1704. p. 341.
Walchii Biblioth. Theolog. IV. p. 97.
Messenii Scondia Illustrata, I. tom. V. pp. 23, 24; et II. tom. XV. pp. 101. 109. 114. Stockholm, 1700, fol.

(36) Acta Eruditor. *ubi sup.*

tions and incumbrances: he also published a more distinct explanation of the important Christian doctrine of "Justification by Faith." Protected and encouraged by his sovereign, Olaus continued his labours for the good of the rising church till called to his great reward by death. His brother LAURENTIUS, who had been raised to the archbishoprick of Upsal, revised and printed several books of Scripture of the SWEDISH translation, separately, in a smaller form, viz. JOB, the PSALMS, PROVERBS, ECCLESIASTES, CANTICLES, ISAIAH, WISDOM, and ECCLESIASTICUS, but the first translation was retained in the public services of the church. Laurentius Petri died in 1573.[37]

In DENMARK, a partial attempt to remove the vail from the Holy Scriptures, and to present them to the public in the vernacular tongue, was made by CHRISTIERN PEDERSEN, the learned editor of *Saxo Grammaticus*, who, in 1515, published a DANISH version of "All the EPISTLES and GOSPELS which are read on every Sunday through the year, with their interpretations and glosses." In this volume, which was printed at Paris, there are many things which mark the legendary credulity of the church of Rome, whilst other passages bespeak a mind possessed of considerable information, and steadily advocating the truth it had discovered. In the preface, the author delivers a decided testimony in favour of the reading of the Holy Scriptures by the common people. "Our Lord himself," says he "commanded his blessed apostles to go throughout the world, and preach and teach the Holy Gospels to all men, adding: He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned eternally. Now as none can believe the Gospels unless he understands them well, it is both useful and

(37) Milner's Hist of the Church of Christ, V. pp. 133—142, and App. p. 574.
Acta Eruditor. An. 1704. p. 341.
Le Long, I. *Index*.

necessary that they should be translated into plain *Danish*, for the sake of common laymen who are not acquainted with Latin, and but very seldom hear any sermon. For what doth it profit plain country people to hear the Gospels read to them in Latin, if they be not afterwards repeated to them in their own tongue? Our Lord says, in the holy Gospel, 'If thou wouldst attain to the kingdom of heaven, keep the commandments of our Lord;' but how can any keep them, if he does not know the Gospels in which the holy Evangelists wrote them from our Lord's own mouth? And St. Luke declares, in the second chapter of the Acts, that the Holy Spirit came from heaven, on the day of Pentecost, in the shape of fiery tongues, and fell on the Apostles, and other disciples of our Lord; and they were all filled with the same blessed Spirit, and immediately spoke all languages, to the intent they should preach the Gospel to all men throughout the world, in that language which each of them understood. St. John the Apostle and Evangelist, and St. Luke wrote Gospels to the Greeks in Greek, in order that they might fully understand them. St. Matthew wrote Gospels in Hebrew to those who spoke Hebrew; and St. Paul the Apostle wrote Epistles both in Greek and Hebrew to those who spoke these languages. If any of them had written Gospels to the kingdom of Denmark, they would assuredly have written them in plain Danish, that all might have understood them; for every one ought to be able to read them in his native tongue. Let not any one imagine that they are more sacred in one language, than what they are in another. They are just as good in Danish and German, when properly translated, as they are in Latin. Therefore none can say that it is improper or inconvenient to translate them into Danish. But certain it is, that without them, and the holy faith, none can be saved."

After the *Title* follows an *Index*, directing the reader to

the page where the different Epistles and Gospels are to be found; which is succeeded by a short prologue, on the advantages resulting from the remembrance of the sufferings of Christ, in which some of the modes prescribed in the Romish church for the expiation of sin are set forth, in rather a disadvantageous point of view; and the necessity of seeking refuge in the death of Christ is strongly enforced.

The body of the work is divided according to the order in which the portions of the Vulgate were read in the churches. 1st, The Epistle for the day. 2dly, The Gospel. 3rdly, An exposition, or short sermon: and lastly, a *Jertegn*, i. e. a fictitious miracle, or a fabulous story of certain occurrences which were supposed to confirm the truths taught in the portions of Scripture that had been read. From this latter part, the work has obtained the name of *Pedersen's Jertegn's Postil.* The translation itself is very paraphrastic, especially in the Epistles; and as it was not till the following year, (1516,) that the first edition of the Greek New Testament was published, Pedersen must have made his version either from the Vulgate Bible, or which is more probable, from an authorized breviary, in which all the Epistles and Gospels were arranged to his hands. In some instances our author gives his opinion very freely of certain scandals and abuses, in which even the pope himself and his cardinals were implicated. At other times he inculcates the most devoted obedience to the Roman see. Some of his *Jertegns* contain credible accounts of events which tend to elucidate and corroborate the truths taught in the Scriptures; but most of them are "lying wonders, and old wives' fables," unworthy of the erudition which Pedersen otherwise displays, but quite congenial with the religious taste of the communion of which he was a member. This inconsistency he afterwards acknowledged, and loudly expressed his gratitude to God, who had called him "out of darkness into his marvellous light,"

and delivered him from the intellectual darkness of which he had been the subject. "I would here," says he, in his preface to the New Testament, which he published about fifteen years afterwards, "I would here acknowledge the great delusion under which I laboured, when I composed the miracles and fables, published in Paris, which are merely the inventions and dreams of men, teaching us that we should live as the saints have done, and thus merit heaven by our own good works; than which nothing can be more false, for Christ alone hath made satisfaction for our sins, and merited the kingdom of heaven for us, by his sufferings and death. I therefore request all to reject those fables and miracles, and not give any credit to them, but adhere strictly to God's own true Word and Gospels. God be eternally praised, for having of his mercy brought me out of my error, and given me grace to learn and understand his Holy Word better than I did before, when I was involved in darkness." A second edition of this work was, however, soon called for, and in 1518, it was reprinted, at Leipsic, in fol. by Melchior Lotther, a printer who afterwards became renowned, for his impressions of such writings as advocated the cause of the Reformation; and with Dr. H. we may pleasingly indulge the hope, that, "though the rays transmitted through this medium were but few and feeble, they [nevertheless] served to conduct many a weary pilgrim through the dangers and temptations of this transitory scene,

"To better worlds on high."

The place of CHRISTIERN PEDERSEN'S birth is not known with certainty; but he received the first rudiments of his education from Simonsen, in Roskilde, and studied at the academy of Paris, where he took his degree in the *Belles Lettres*. In 1505, he was canon in Lund, as appears from an ancient document which he has subscribed, bearing that date. Some have supposed, that he was also *amanuensis* to the archbishop; but this is, not

unlikely, a mistake which has arisen from confounding him with Adler Pedersen, who sustained that office in 1518. He was in great favour with Christian II. who frequently consulted him on state affairs, and at last made him his historiographer. Nor was he wanting in attachment to his royal patron, for he accompanied him in his flight to Holland, and assisted in planning measures for his restoration to the crown. During his stay in that country, he published several works, some of which will be hereafter noticed. He was also engaged in preparing the first Danish Bible. He died A. D. 1554, at Helsinge, near Slagelse, in Zealand, where he is said to have been the first Lutheran clergyman.

The first *Danish* version of the *whole* of the NEW TESTAMENT was made by HANS MIKKELSEN, who is sometimes called *John Michaelis*. For this treasure Denmark was indebted to the patronage and generosity of Christian II. "a prince," says Dr. Henderson, "whose character earlier writers have depicted in the blackest colours, but whom posterity, though not blind to his faults, yet cooler in its judgment, and more impartial in its decisions, seems on the whole inclined to favour." The bold and unprecedented measures which this monarch adopted, in order to abridge the overgrown power of the priests and nobles, to restore the rights of the peasants, and other private citizens, and to introduce the Lutheran Reformation, irritated the papal hierarchy, and produced a faction, which being strengthened by the nobles, broke out into open rebellion in 1523. To escape the rage of his rebellious subjects, Christian, with a few confidential friends, fled to Holland, where he hoped to find shelter under the protection of the Emperor Charles V.

It was while in this expatriated state that he promoted the publication of the *New Testament*, thus imitating the example of its blessed Author, who hath ordered it to be

disseminated among his rebellious subjects, with a view to the promotion of their present and eternal welfare. The person whom Christian II. employed in the execution of this important undertaking was HANS MIKKELSEN, originally mayor of Malmoe, in Scania, and afterwards secretary to his majesty. From the proximity of his residence to Lund, the papal metropolis of the North, Mikkelsen had ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with the evils of the reigning system; and it is likely that the early part which the inhabitants of Malmoe took in the Reformation, was the result of his secret, but well-planned opposition. His unshaken attachment to his sovereign was proved by his sacrificing his private connections and interests, and voluntarily accompanying him into a state of exile. That his character stood high, even in the estimation of his master's enemies, appears from their allowing considerable estates, belonging to him in Scania, to remain untouched for the space of two years, and their sending him several pressing invitations to return to his native country; and it was not till they saw that all hopes of his return were vain, that his property was confiscated. His zeal in the cause of the Reformation excited the jealousy and resentment of the Catholics in the Netherlands, and he was at last necessitated to separate from his royal friend, and retire to Harderwick, in Guelderland, where he died, about eight years after his translation of the New Testament left the press.

The designation, or title, of Mikkelsen's version is, "Thette ere thz Nöye testamenth paa danske ret effter latinen udsatthe. M. D. XXIIII." i. e. "The New Testament in Danish, properly translated according to the Latin." It is inserted within the space described by a large portico, at the foot of which there is a representation of Christ on the cross, and of a multitude of angels contemplating, in attitudes of wonder and surprise. At the end there is a notification stating it to have

been printed at Leipsic, by Melchior Lotther, the Monday preceding St. Bartholomew's day, A. D. 1524. It forms a small quarto volume, and is divided into three parts: the first containing the Four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles; and the second comprising all the Apostolical Epistles; to which the third, which contains the Apocalypse, is added, by way of appendix. To the first part are prefixed three Prefaces; the first and second of which are merely translations of those published by Luther, and are designed to give the reader some previous idea of the Gospel, and to point out to him the principal books of the New Testament. The translator has not even hesitated to adopt the harsh judgment of the reformer, respecting the Epistle of St. James, calling it "a proper Epistle of straw," compared with the other Epistles. In the third, which is wholly the translator's own composition, "he praises the goodness and mercy of God, in having conferred upon them his Holy Gospel in their own language, and thus enabling them to become acquainted with his eternal bounty, revealed in and by Christ Jesus; complains that the New Testament had been long concealed, and that many had erred, not knowing the Scriptures, with which, he justly maintains, all ought to be acquainted; ascribes the present publication, under God, to the king, and the assistance of other good Christians; and requests all candid teachers that if they should meet with any oversights in the version, either through the fault of the printer, who was ignorant of the language, or arising from the difficulties which the language itself presented, or from the little assistance that could be procured in the execution of it,* they would, for the sake of public utility, correct

* As the initials H. S. are printed at the end of the Testament, it is supposed, with a good degree of probability, that *Henry Smith*, a native of Malmoe, and the corrector of several of Christiern Pedersen's works, was employed in correcting the proof-sheets.

whatever they found needful in point of orthography, punctuation, or diction. Then follows an explanation of a number of words made use of in the New Testament, such as *bishop, priest, deacon, church, cross, sacrifice, saint,* &c. which, from the perverted explication of them by the papists, the translator thought necessary previously to elucidate, lest the common people should imagine they found their errors confirmed, rather than reprobated, by Scripture; and the preface concludes with the specification of a few errata, which had found their way into the Gospels.

The Address prefixed to the second part is directed to all the inhabitants of Denmark, and exhibits the most unequivocal proofs of the abhorrence in which the translator held the corruptions of the church of Rome, and his anxiety to have the attention of his countrymen fixed on the superlative importance of the Scriptures of truth. At the same time it is to be deplored, that he should have introduced any thing of a political nature into it, as it could not fail to create prejudices against it in the minds of many who might otherwise have given it an attentive perusal. The address may be found at full length, both in English and Danish, in the first part of the Rev. Dr. E. Henderson's *Dissertation on Hans Mikkelsen's Translation of the New Testament*, 4to. Copenhagen, 1813; a copy of which is deposited in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in London. This address is stated at the end to have been written at Antwerp, in Brabant, the year after the birth of Christ, one thousand five hundred and twenty-four; and it is not unworthy of notice, that this Danish version appeared *two* years before the first English edition of the New Testament, by Tyndall; and that the place where the preface was written, was the very spot selected by Tyndall, for the execution of his translation.

Beside the above-mentioned prefaces and address,

there is a preface to each Epistle, as also one to the Apocalypse, but they are all literal translations of Luther's. At the beginning of the second part there is a register, showing the order of the books, and the number of chapters contained in each. To some copies of his translation, Mikkelsen added a letter, addressed to the burgomaster of Dantzig, in which he endeavours to vindicate Christian II.; and exhorts the inhabitants of Denmark, to receive him back again into the kingdom. The reason why it is found in some, and not in others, seems to be, that Mikkelsen ultimately regretted his having published it; and fearing lest it should injure the circulation of the New Testament, left it out of the remaining copies. The order of the books in this translation is the same with that observed by Luther; the Epistle to the Hebrews, and those of James and Jude, being placed after the rest, on account of the doubts entertained by the reformer respecting their authenticity. Several wood-cuts are inserted in the work, exhibiting the Danish arms, the portrait of Christian II., and the insignia of the Apostles prefixed to their writings. The initial letter of each chapter is also ornamented with a wood-cut. The books are only divided into chapters and paragraphs; the division of the New Testament into verses not being introduced till nearly thirty years afterwards. In the Gospels and Epistles almost the only points used are, a stroke cutting the line transversely, from right to left, and the sign of interrogation. In the Acts of the Apostles, however, besides these, both the colon and full-stop are frequently introduced. It is printed on good strong paper, and the type, which is the black, or German character, though small, is uncommonly clean and distinct.

From a laborious and accurate collation of this translation with the Latin version of Erasmus, and the German version of Luther, Dr. Henderson concludes, that in translating the *Four Gospels*, Mikkelsen chiefly availed

himself of the Latin version of Erasmus, but that in the Acts of the Apostles, and the rest of the New Testament, he generally followed the German version by Luther. Indeed, this distinction seems not unequivocally to be hinted in the title, in which, the first part is said to be done "exactly according to the Latin;" whereas, in the designation of the second, no mention is made of the Latin at all, but it is said to have been "translated with due discrimination and interpretation." The most probable reason of this difference is, that the king's plan embraced only the *Four Gospels*, and the *Acts of the Apostles*, and that as he had frequently conversed with Erasmus, in Flanders, in 1521, upon the most eligible means of eradicating the dominant ecclesiastical corruptions, he directed Mikkelsen to translate the Gospels, and Acts of the Apostles, into Danish, from the Latin version which Erasmus had published along with his editions of the Greek Testament. In this case the translation would be begun before the first edition of Luther's version had left the press. But in the translation of the *Epistles* voluntarily undertaken by Mikkelsen, he preferred the version of the bold and spirited reformer, which had by that time been published, to that of the indecisive and timid Erasmus.

"In the Gospels and Acts," says Dr. H. "the Latin idiom frequently predominates; and in the Epistles, not only the construction of sentences, but the very composition of the words bears marks, at times, of German extraction. The use of these foreign idioms has certainly given a considerable degree of stiffness to many parts of the translation, and also occasioned some obscurity; yet it must be evident to every one who exa-

* "Paul Eliæ, a native of Warberg, in Sweden, was originally one of the Carmelite friars in Elsinore, from which place he went to Copenhagen, and was constituted prior of the new Carmelite convent in that city. Having read some of Luther's writings, he acknowledged the truth of his principles; and after he was promoted to the divinity-chair, in the university of Copenhagen, he assisted in the attempts that were

mines it with impartiality, that Paul Eliæ* uses the exaggerated language of prejudice, when he affirms that, 'did not the reader understand Latin, it would not be the reading of Mikkelsen's translation that would make him wise.' On the contrary, whatever imperfections may have crept into the execution of it, it indisputably contains an intelligible representation of the truths of Divine Revelation. There is not a doctrine or a duty inculcated and taught, in this important portion of the Sacred

made to introduce the Reformation, by interpreting the German discourses which were held to the people by Reinhard, who had been brought to Denmark for the express purpose of disseminating the truth in the capital. It was not long, however, before he turned his back upon the reformers, and went to the Catholic party: on which account he obtained the nickname of *Paul Vendekaabe*, or Paul Turncoat. It has been alledged, that this change of sides was owing to his being preferred to a good canonry, in Odense, by the bishops of Roskilde and Aarhus, who were anxious to prevent the friends of the truth from reaping any advantage from his literary abilities.

As the circulation and perusal of the New Testament could not fail to elucidate many things, which it must have been the earnest wish of the clergy to keep concealed, it necessarily filled them with hatred and resentment; and in order the more effectually to counteract its operations, they prevailed on Paul Eliæ to take up his pen against it. This he did in a pamphlet, to which he gave the title, *A brief and becoming Reply to the heretical and inconsiderate Letter, which the impudent heretic, Hans Mikkelsen, published along with the New Testament, that King Christian caused to be translated in his tyrannical manner, and not to the glory of God.* It bears the date of Odense, 1527. In this *Reply*, Eliæ charges the version with obscurity; and declares that it was made sometimes from the Latin, and sometimes from the German, and so completely literal, that the Danish had no meaning to one who did not understand Latin. Had Mikkelsen, he says, done it, as those do who translate from Greek into Latin, according as the genius of the languages admitted, and published the bare text, without any of the poisonous prefaces and heretical glosses, he would have been entitled to thanks. He states that he had no objection to every person's understanding so much of the Scriptures as concerned his salvation; but to maintain that the common people ought to know the whole of the Bible, was to maintain what was impossible, even supposing it to be seemly. He is very severe upon Mikkelsen, for having copied Luther in the judgment he passed on the respective merits of the different books of the New Testament; and accuses him of political views in publishing it:—clothing Luther in the same, and thus sending him into the kingdom to do all the mischief he could. The whole breathes a spirit of wounded pride and party-zeal. See *Worm's Lexicon over Lærde Mænd*; and *Oliva-rius de Vita et Scriptis Pauli Eliæ Carmelitæ.*"

Volume, but what is here expressed in terms which the generality of those who were at all acquainted with letters must, on the whole, have understood."*

Instead therefore of meriting censure, this version claimed the respect and veneration of the inhabitants of the northern kingdom, for whose benefit it was executed, and to whom it became the means of emancipating their minds from the fetters of ignorance and error, and of communicating to them the most satisfactory information on those topics, which, as responsible and immortal creatures, it most concerned them to know. Its object was not merely the amelioration of their external and temporal condition, but the advancement of their intellectual and everlasting happiness; and this end it answered to a very considerable extent. Copies were transmitted by sea from Antwerp to different parts of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, and were joyfully received by numbers who longed for the treasure, and who exerted themselves to impart it to their neighbours. Having thus gained admittance, "it darted its beams across the gloom with which the Northern horizon was beclouded, and ushered in a brighter and happier day." In the letter referred to in the preceding note, its enemies, three years after its publication, are compelled to bear testimony to the efficiency of its operations. "In this kingdom," say they, "there are many who now doubt more than ever they did before, especially since the New Testament came into their hands." It was the policy, therefore, of the adversaries of the Reformation, to prevent, if possible, its distribution among the people. The counsellors of the kingdom, in company with the bishops,

* "When Christiern Pedersen alludes to this subject, in the preface to *his* version of the New Testament, he does not maintain that Mikkelsen's language was unintelligible: he only says that "many complained they could not understand it," which was a very good excuse for the publication of his, though the complainers may mostly have been of the same party with Paul Eliæ."

among other measures which they resolved to adopt in order to put a stop to the spread of the new heresy, unanimously determined to "INTERDICT NEW AND DANGEROUS BOOKS WHICH ARE DAILY IMPORTED FROM ANTWERP AND OTHER PLACES."[38] This prohibition, however, produced but little effect, and the Word of God continued to be more or less read by the inhabitants of Denmark and its dependencies.

Four years after the publication of Mikkelsen's Danish New Testament, a version of the PSALMS was printed in the same language, at Rostock. The title of it was "DAVID'S PSALTERE, &c." i. e. "The Psalter of David translated into Danish by Francis Wormord, Carmelite friar, with a few annotations on such places as needed them, together with an excellent register at the end, pointing out the use, virtue, and power of each Psalm. *Cum gratia et privilegio Regiæ M.*" It is in quarto, and is stated at the end, to have been printed by the friars in St. Michael's convent at Rostock, on the 5th of September, 1528. It is dedicated to Sir Andrew and Lady Bilde of Siöholm, to whose importunate intreaties, the author ascribes its publication. In the preface he points out the excellency of the Psalms, and the great utility attending the study of them; specifies the different translations of which he had availed himself; and combats the arguments of those who opposed the publication of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongues. His version appears to have been made immediately from the Hebrew, though at the same time the author consulted the renderings of the different translations of the Psalter which he had at hand. These he states in the preface to have been *Psalterium Gallicanum*, or the old Italic; *Psalterium Romanum*, the version of Jerom; two German translations, the one German proper, and the other Dutch; and the two more recent Latin versions of Felix Pratensis,

(38) Pontopp. Annal. Eccles. Diplomat. III. p. 789.

and Conrad Pellican. It was a dictate of prudence to suppress the reformer's name, yet he had, evidently, Luther's at hand, not only in specifying the contents, but in forming the version. The language is very unpolished. Indeed, Wormord himself acknowledges, in the preface, that he had considerable difficulty in expressing himself in Danish, both on account of the dissonance between the Hebrew and Danish; and the intrusion of his native language, the peculiarities of which it was hardly possible for him to elude. That his version is not more unpolished, is owing to the assistance he received from his old master, Lector Paul, who, he says, on being desired, assisted him in this point with more readiness, than many of his enemies were willing to believe. This is the same Lector Paul, (Paul Eliæ,) of whom an account has been given in a preceding note. His participation in this work, cannot fairly be construed into a proof of his having changed his mind, in regard to the sentiments expressed in his letter to Hans Mikkelsen. He had declared in that letter, that "he had no objection to every person's understanding so much of the Scriptures as concerned his salvation;" and it is likely he considered the Psalms in this light. Besides, they were not so liable to be adduced in opposition to the anti-christian system of which he was a zealous abettor, as the New Testament was, and therefore he could not be under any alarm at their being put into the hands of the laity.

A translation of Athanasius's *Treatise on the virtue and excellence of the Psalms*, by Paul Eliæ, is appended to the work; together with a Royal Privilege, which Wormord was careful to procure, in order to prevent the enemies of the translation from throwing any obstructions in the way of its circulation. To each Psalm a short Summary is prefixed, and compendious notes are interspersed, with a view to illustrate the more difficult passages.

Francis Wormord, the translator of this version of

the Psalms, was born at Amsterdam, in the year 1491, but came, when young, to Denmark, and entered the Carmelite monastery at Elsinore. He was one of the first of the monks who embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, and was so distinguishingly zealous in propagating and defending them, that he procured to himself the name of *Luther Frank*. In 1526, he was driven from one of the pulpits in Copenhagen, amid the clamours and hissings of the canons, who felt themselves galled by the pointed manner in which he delivered the new views he had obtained of the Gospel. In these circumstances, it was natural for him to look around him, for men of similar sentiments with himself, and to settle in some place where he would be more unshackled in his endeavours to disseminate the truth; and where, by this means, he would be more likely to be useful to his fellow-men. He accordingly crossed to Malmoe, the inhabitants of which town had already discovered a disposition to favour the cause he had espoused. He could not, however, be prevailed on to preach, till he had applied for permission to the archbishop of Lund. This prelate, on Wormord's promising to preach nothing but the *pure truth*, not only granted him liberty, but made him a present of some florins, on his leaving him: but it was not long before his sermons made it manifest, that his ideas of *pure truth* differed widely from those entertained by Achon, and that the evident tendency of his doctrines was to alienate the minds of the people from the Roman see. Yet he was allowed to proceed without much molestation; was soon employed as theological tutor in the High School, which had recently been established at Malmoe; and, in 1530, we find him called to take part in the public theological *Colloquium*, held at Copenhagen, for the purpose of discussing the merit of the questions at that time pending between the Catholics and Protestants, in Denmark. In 1537, he was elected the first Lutheran

bishop of Lund, which office he has the testimony of having filled with great credit and ability. He died in 1551.

Le Long (Biblioth. Sacra, tom. I. p. 416) mentions, on the authority of Aslacus, that an edition of the Psalms was published at Malmoe also, in 1528. This Dr. Henderson conceives to be an error; the following are his words: "As I had not found any traces of such an edition, in any of the Northern writers I consulted, I was the more anxious to see what Aslacus said on the subject, but on turning to his book, I found nothing further than what is in Le Long, and am persuaded he has been misled by a Danish Psalm-book, which was first printed at Malmoe, 1528, and has mistaken it for the Psalms of David. It was composed chiefly of Psalms translated from the German by Tönlebinus, who, along with Spandernager, was zealous and successful in his attempts to introduce the principles of the Reformation into Malmoe. This Psalm-book was republished in 1529, and 1534; but no copies are known to be now extant."

Christiern Pedersen, who has been already noticed as the author of the *Jertegn's Postil*, published a translation of the Psalms in Danish, with the title, "Dauidz Psaltere, &c." i. e. "David's Psalter, which the Holy Spirit himself made by the mouth of David. It is a suitable book for all Christians, for it shews us how we ought to believe in, serve, and love God, with our whole heart, and how we may be saved. It may, indeed, be called a little Bible, seeing it contains, in a few words, what is contained in the Bible." At the end is added, "This Psalter is translated into Danish by Christiern Pedersen, who was canon in Lund, and printed at Antwerp, the year after the birth of God, 1531." But it may be doubted whether this was the date of the *first* edition, as Le Long says an edition was printed in 1528; and Dr. Henderson *(MS. Hist.)* remarks, that the copies which he has seen (evidently meaning beside this) have 1529.

In the Preface, the translator, whose mind was now opening to the truth, complains how sadly the Psalms had been neglected; that their place had been occupied by Passionals and Legends of saints; and that books of imitation, which were full of fictitious miracles and foolish dreams, had been preferred before them. He points out their excellency and superiority, not only in comparison with the best books of human composition, but even with the rest of Scripture itself,—as they furnish us with the most eligible expressions for carrying on our correspondence with God, teach us the right way to heaven, and contain the most lucid prophecies of the sufferings and death, the kingdom and glory of Christ. He insists on the necessity of humble prayer to God, for light and direction, in order to our interpreting the Scriptures properly; and ascribes the accomplishment of the present work to the Father of Lights, who had conferred grace upon him proportioned to the arduousness of the task he had undertaken.—A brief description is also given of the different instruments of Hebrew music that are mentioned in the Psalms; and several observations are made respecting the genius of the Hebrew language, such as the frequent changes of person, tense, &c. which shew that the translator was versant in that tongue.

At the close there is an address, in which he repels the objections made to the reading of the Holy Scriptures by the laity; and apologizes for any imperfections which might be found in his translation. "It ought," he says, "properly to have been all in verse, for the original Hebrew is in verse; but the Danish language does not admit of that flexion and ease which are requisite in such a performance." In another part of the same address, he defends the liberty he had taken in not rendering word for word, but giving what appeared to him to be the meaning of the writer: "If," he declares, "I had translated exactly according to the Latin of St.

Jerom, none would have understood my Danish; nor would it have either head or tail, as every one must perceive from the other versions which have been made of the Psalter, of which all complain that they are unintelligible, a necessary consequence of their having been verbally translated, and the sound having been followed, rather than the sense." "He that translates," he adds, "from Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, must do it so as to be understood by all who speak the language into which he translates; otherwise it were better for him to abstain from the undertaking, for those who read his translation will soon get weary of what they do not understand, and thereby grow careless about reading the Word of God."

The translation is considered by competent judges as being frequently too paraphrastic, and the expressions too generally accommodated to Christian sentiments for a Jewish writer, but it is remarkably pure in its language, considering the time when it was executed; and the learned Bishop Münter *(Den Danske Reformations historie,* II *Deel.* p. 73) assures us, that the works of Pedersen are worthy of a place among the Danish classics.

A still more important work was completed by the same author, in a translation of the NEW TESTAMENT into Danish, published at Antwerp, A. D. 1529. The title of it is, "DET NY TESTAMENT, &c." i. e. "The New Testament, containing the very words and Gospels which Jesus Christ himself preached and taught here on earth, and which his holy Apostles and Evangelists afterwards wrote,—now translated into proper Danish, and corrected, to the praise and honour of God, and the service and benefit of the common people, 1529." The form is small quarto, the paper better than that on which Mikkelsen's translation was printed, and a considerable improvement is observable in the typography. The punctuation is nearly the same, only, what is rather singular, there is seldom any full-stop to be met with. The

parallel passages are referred to in the margin, by the specification of the chapter. It is entirely exempt from marginal glosses and observations: what the translator deemed necessary to add by way of explanation, he has inclosed within a parenthesis, or expressed paraphrastically in the version itself.

In the preface, which occupies eleven pages, he calls the inhabitants of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, to thankfulness to God, for having sent them his holy and unadulterated Word, in their own language; adverts to its perversion by the priests and monks, and is very severe upon them for having kept it back from the common people; shewing them, in this respect, to be worse than the Jewish doctors and scribes themselves, who did not hinder Christ, when only twelve years of age, from asking them questions out of the book of the Law. His expressions are not quite so harsh as those made use of by Mikkelsen, in his Address; but the following extracts will shew the reader with how very little ceremony he treated the clerical order, and how zealous he was for the dissemination of Divine Truth, among all classes of men. "There are many proud clerks," says he "who have a high idea of themselves, and imagine that they have much Scripture-wisdom, and who foolishly maintain, that it is not lawful for any who do not understand Latin, whether they be noblemen, knights, or yeomen, peasants, handicraftsmen, women, or girls, to have the Gospels in their own language, or even so much as to see them. But which all good Christians now know to be an egregious falsehood; for Christ suffered death for the meanest clown or maiden, equally as for the most exalted emperor, king, pope, bishop, or prelate, that ever lived; and it is his pleasure that they should all be saved, the one as well as the other, for with him there is no respect of persons."—"They assert that the keys of the kingdom of heaven are committed unto them, and that they have

the exclusive right of binding and loosing; but Christ addresses them thus: 'Wo unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in. Wo unto you, for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers; therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation.' Matt. xxiii. 13, 14. And again, 'Wo unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith: these ye ought to have done, and not to leave the other undone.' ver. 23. And St. Paul warns all to beware lest they should be deceived by the philosophy of such clerks; for they always oppose the Word of God, just as the scribes, pharisees, and hypocrites, the bishops and prelates, Caiaphas and Annas, opposed the word and preaching of Christ. Agreeably to the doctrines he taught, his disciples were not to aspire after worldly honours, riches, or power; and when he sent them out, he commanded them to teach gratis, saying, 'Freely ye have received, freely give.' Nor did he himself neglect the common people, but, on the contrary, preached to them in the fields, deserts, and woods, to which many thousands flocked to hear him, and generally women, girls, and clowns, rather than clerks and others of a similar description."

To the preface is annexed a list of the Gospels and Epistles, as appointed to be read in the churches. The lives of the Evangelists are prefixed to their writings, and the contents of each book are briefly stated. The order in which the books are placed is nearly the same as in Luther's German version, except that the Epistle to the Hebrews is inserted between the Epistle to Philemon, and those of Peter, instead of following the Epistles of John, as in the editions by Luther; and although Pedersen has not altered the position of St. James's Epistle,

he has very strongly expressed his disapprobation of the manner in which Luther and Mikkelsen had spoken of it. "I cannot conceive," says he, in the preface, "how any should have the assurance to call this Epistle an *Epistle of Straw*, as if it were of no more value. Yet every Christian well knows that he was an Apostle of Christ, and spake by the Holy Spirit. But what the spirit is by which such speak, is best known to God, from whom nothing can be concealed, and by whom all are to be judged."

The version itself appears to have been raised on the foundation laid by Mikkelsen, though the translator has greatly improved the style, and been careful to banish all foreign words and idioms, and has introduced a superior system of orthography. But notwithstanding the excellencies of this translation, it is allowed to be sometimes too paraphrastic, and in some instances to be disfigured by the adoption of modern terms and phrases, inconsistent with the manners of the age in which the New Testament was written: thus Matt. xxvi. 17. is rendered "Sker Torsdag," "Maundy Thursday;" and xxvii. 6. κορβανᾶν (Eng. "Treasury") is translated, "Thirken's-block,"—"The church-block," i. e. a block of wood stuck into the ground, the upper end of which is hollowed out, so as to form a box, and firmly secured with iron, leaving a small opening at the top, through which alms are deposited for the poor. This kind of poor-box is very common all over the north of Europe, and is placed either at the church-door, the entrance to the church-yard, or at the road side adjoining to the church. Bastholm has adopted the same word in his translation of 1780.

The way having been paved for its reception by a *four years'* circulation of Mikkelsen's version, this improved translation of Pedersen's was welcomed with joy, and read with the utmost avidity. In less than two years a

new edition was called for; and the translator accordingly republished it, along with his version of the Psalms, at Antwerp, 1531, but without any alteration; and to the light diffused over Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, by means of these different editions of the New Testament, more than to any other cause, is doubtless to be ascribed, the early and extensive progress which the Reformation made in those kingdoms.

In 1533, Jacob Hansen published a Danish translation of Schmaltzing's German version of the Psalms. It was printed in Magdeburg, in 16mo. A second edition appeared in 8vo. Copenhagen, 1570, which Hielmstierne, by mistake, says, was done by Palladius; (See Bogsamling pt. ii. p. 538;) and a third at the same place, in 12mo. 1616. As this publication does not contain a direct translation of the Psalms of David, but is composed of prayers, or pious ejaculations drawn from the text, it might have been entirely passed over, had it not been liable to be confounded with the real versions.

The publication of the Danish New Testament, by Christiern Pedersen, was soon followed by a Danish version of the PENTATEUCH, by HANS TAUSEN, bearing the title; "De fem Moses Böger, &c." i. e. "The Five books of Moses faithfully and diligently translated into Danish, by Hans Tausen, A. M. preacher in Copenhagen." At the end it is said to be "printed at Magdeburg, by Michael Lotther, the year after the birth of God, 1535." It is printed in a small octavo size, on tolerably good paper, with a type similar to those employed in printing the other Danish translations of the Scriptures. The version is without note, comment, or marginal reference. The chapters are divided, as was usual at that time, only into paragraphs, and are marked by their beginning a new line. In his address to the Christian reader, Tausen states the necessity of our having access to the sacred, living, and all-powerful Word which lies concealed in the

writings of the Prophets and Apostles, seeing we are deprived of their personal ministry: and he declares the Holy Scriptures to be of such importance, that their contents deserve "to be painted on every wall, written on every corner, and translated into every language, that the rising generation may be exercised in them betimes." This address is followed by a list of the books of the Old Testament, and a translation of Luther's excellent preface. With respect to the diction, Dr. Wöldike observes (*Kiobenhavnske Selskabs Skrifter* I Deel, p. 9,) that greater attention has been paid to the purity, propriety, and perspicuity, of the Danish language, in this version, than in any cotemporary publication, if we except the writings of Christiern Pedersen.

"In making this version," says Dr. Henderson, "Tausen has neither implicitly followed the Vulgate, nor Luther, but has had the Hebrew text itself before him, the meaning of which he has, in certain passages, more happily expressed than either of them; and even in those instances in which he leaves them without having himself apprehended the meaning, it is evident that his mistake has arisen from the different light in which he viewed the Hebrew expressions."

That this translation of the "Five Books of Moses" was well received, appears from the fact, that it was found necessary to prepare a new edition in the course of the following year. This edition was likewise printed at Magdeburg, by Michael Lotther. On the title-page is the date 1536, which shews that it was begun in the course of that year; and at the end, 1537, the year in which it left the press. It corresponds, in every respect, with the former edition; only, instead of "The Five Books of Moses," the translator has substituted "Det Gambe Testamente;" "The Old Testament;" which must have arisen from his design to publish the whole of that part of the Sacred Volume, at a future opportunity.

Le Long mentions the latter edition, but appears to have been unacquainted with the former. Tausen actually set about completing his design, and, in 1543, obtained a royal privilege from Christian III. permitting him to print his translation, and interdicting its republication and sale by others, for the space of four years: but, owing to some unknown cause, it never made its appearance.

Hans Tausen, who has obtained the name of *The Danish Luther*, from his activity and zeal in promoting the Reformation, was born A. D. 1494, at Birkinde, an obscure village in the vicinity of Kierteminde, in Funen. Even while a child he discovered an uncommon inclination to study, and his parents, though poor, sent him to the cathedral-school of Odense, where he was initiated into the elements of science, supporting himself with what he received for chanting before the doors of the inhabitants,—a practice at that time greatly in vogue. After spending some time also in the school at Viborg, under the tuition of the famous Borup, he entered, about the year 1515, the Cross-Friar convent at Anderskov, in Zealand, and soon gained the esteem of Eskild, the prior, who not only took particular pains in the direction of his studies, but, flattering himself with the hopes that his pupil would one day prove an able advocate of the Catholic faith, resolved to send him to some of the foreign universities, where he might prosecute his researches after knowledge to greater advantage, than he could possibly do at home. This proposition was exceedingly welcome to Tausen, who had already grown weary of the manners of the convent, and accordingly, in 1517, he proceeded to Holland, after having come under an obligation, not to visit Wittemberg, and on his return to Denmark, to re-enter his convent. The first university he visited was Louvain; but he was soon disgusted at the dry scholastic lectures of the professors, and went to Cologne, where he found, to his mortification, that the lectures were equally

insipid. Here, however, he met with several of Luther's publications, which increased his abhorrence of the predominant ecclesiastical abuses, and led him to resolve, notwithstanding the obligation into which he had entered with the prior, and which he ought to have kept faithfully, to visit Wittemberg, that he might hear and converse with the reformers. He accordingly repaired thither, and after spending upwards of a year there, in secret, he returned to Denmark in 1521. Having been created master of arts at Rostock, on his way home, he was called to hold theological lectures in the university of Copenhagen; but his popularity with the students, and the purity of his doctrine, are supposed to have excited the hatred and jealousy of the clergy, who prevailed on Eskild to recall him to the convent. Here he kindled a flame not to be extinguished. In his sermon on Good-Friday, 1524, he discussed the following doctrinal proposition: *That a penitent sinner obtains the Divine favour, the pardon of his sins, and life everlasting, of mere grace, solely in virtue of the atonement of Christ, without any worth or merit of his own:* which so exasperated the prior, that he ordered him immediately to be put in confinement; though afterwards he released him, at the instance of some of Tausen's friends, on condition that he should leave Zealand and Funen.

Our reformer now went to Viborg, where he gained over many friends to the truth, but, at the same time, created himself many enemies, whose rage ultimately grew to such a height, as to cause him to be again imprisoned. This discouraging circumstance only served to add fresh vigour to his zeal, and though restrained from propagating the doctrines of the Gospel in the same public way in which he had begun, he still did what he could, by preaching through the windows of his prison, to such as collected before them. The God whom he served was, however, able to deliver, and did deliver him;

for he was not only liberated by royal authority, but nominated chaplain to Frederick I. and allowed to preach in the church of Viborg, to the no small mortification of Friis, bishop of the diocese. So embittered was this prelate against Tausen, that he even ventured, in spite of the royal protection, to forbid him the use of the church; but Tausen, who had learned that God was not confined to temples made with hands, mounted a gravestone in the church-yard, and proclaimed the glad tidings of salvation to numerous audiences. Nor ought it to be concealed, that the magistrates were at last obliged to obstruct the passage, leading from the bishop's residence to the place where Tausen preached, with iron chains, to prevent the haughty dignitary and his horsemen from molesting him! Determined, if possible, to stop the mouth of such an audacious heretic, Friis sent for the bishops of Ribe, Borglum, and Aarhuus, who, after consulting together on the subject, wrote to the famous Eckius, requesting him to come and silence Tausen by argument; but Eckius, who had already found how difficult it was to dispute with the reformers of Germany, declined the task; on which they applied to Cochlæus, who, having advised with Erasmus,* also refused to undertake the journey; and Tausen was permitted to preach, without interruption, at Viborg, till 1529, when the king appointed him preacher of the church of St. Nicolas, in Copenhagen. Here he entered on a new and more

* The advice of Erasmus is too remarkable not to be inserted here: "Iter perlongum est, et gens fera dicitur, et instat hiems. Si Episcopi pugnarent pro Regno Christi, non pro suo, alacrioribus animis capesseremus hanc militiam. Quare nihil in isto negotio possum consulere, nisi ut spectetur non hominum sed Christi negotium, magisque iis intentus servandis hominibus, quam puniendis." "The journey is long; the people are said to be of a savage disposition, and winter is at hand. If it were the kingdom of Christ, the bishops were contending for, and not their own, we should be more ready to join in the contest. The only advice I can therefore give in the matter, is, that you regard it as the cause of Christ, and not that of man, and that you be more intent on the salvation, than the punishment, of men."

extensive field of usefulness. The church was crowded when he preached; and the animation and perspicuity with which he delivered the doctrines of the Reformation, were productive of the best effects on the minds of his hearers. The Catholics, grieved to see their cause growing into disrepute, were so importunate with the king, that he was necessitated to call a meeting of the States at Copenhagen, in the year 1530, that the differences between the Catholics and Reformers might be settled by public disputation. The former selected the most learned and acute of their party; but fearing lest after all they might be worsted, they hired some able disputants in Germany to come and assist them. Tausen came forward as the champion of the reformers. He had prepared forty-three articles as a confession of faith, which were signed by himself and his brethren. Two of these were, *That the Holy Scriptures are the only standard of salvation*; and *That a Christian needs no other rule but these Scriptures, separate from all human appendages.* In opposition to these, the other party composed twenty-seven articles; and nothing now prevented the commencement of the disputation, but the settling of the following preliminary questions: 1. "In what language it should be held?" Tausen and his brethren maintained, that as they had begun to write on the matter in Danish, it ought to be carried on in that language, and the rather, as it was the language of the common people, whose interest was at stake, as well as their own. The Catholics, on the contrary, contended that it should be held in Latin, that being the language of the church.—2. "Who was to be arbiter of the controversy?" The Catholics would only admit the Bible, as interpreted by the Fathers and councils, to be the standard; and maintained that the pope, as head of the church, and the vicar of Christ, was the only legitimate judge: whereas the reformers insisted that the Scriptures were, in themselves, the only standard by

which they would submit to be judged; and chose the king, the council, and states of the realm, for their judges. Tausen, knowing the weakness of his enemies' cause, encouraged his friends, on leaving the hall that day, with the words of the prophet: "The Egyptians are men, and not God." Isaiah, xxxi. 3. Finding that they were not likely to gain their cause, the Roman clergy attempted to get clear of the business, by publishing, that as the Lutherans were heretics, they would not dispute with them; on which Tausen drew up thirteen additional articles, in defence of himself and his brethren; and full liberty was granted them to preach when and where they pleased.

No sooner, however, did Tausen lose his royal protector, who died in 1533, than his enemies exerted their influence against him, and occasioned him to be summoned to appear before the states of the kingdom. Here he was accused in the bitterest manner; and although he defended himself with great ability, the prelates sentenced him to lose his life, honour, and goods. This sentence the council refused to confirm; though he was ordered to leave the island, and never appear more either in Zealand, or Scania. But the citizens, having been apprized of the manner in which he was treated, assembled before the chamber, and demanded that he should be delivered to them safe and sound. An amiable trait in Tausen's character displayed itself on this occasion. The populace were so exasperated at Bishop Rönnow, whom they regarded as the author of the prosecution, that they were determined to wreak their vengence on him as he returned to his residence. Tausen, however, calmed their fury, and conducted his enemy by the arm, through the mob, to the door of his house.

Having weathered the storm, he continued to labour unmolested in Copenhagen, till the year 1537, when he was appointed lecturer on divinity in Roskilde. In 1542, he was created bishop of Ripen, which station he occupied

till his death on the 9th of November, 1561, aged 67. *(Skiagraphia Lutheri Danici, sive Biographia Primi in Dania Restauratoris Doctrinæ Sanæ Magistri Johannis Tausani, Auct. P. Rön, Hafniæ,* 1757, 8vo.)

After Tausen's version of the Pentateuch, the next portion of Sacred Scripture published in DANISH, was a translation of the BOOK OF JUDGES. The author, PEDER TIDEMAN, was clergyman of the parishes of Hersted Oster, and Hersted Vester, in Zealand; and published several other works, mostly translations, among which was his version of the Apocryphal books, *Jesus Sirach,* and the *Wisdom of Solomon,* Magdeburg, 1541, 8vo. which Le Long improperly ascribes to Hans Tausen. His version of the *Book of Judges* is considered as one of the scarcest in the Danish language; "No mention," says Dr. Henderson, *(MS. Hist.)* "is made of it in Lork's *Bibliotheca Biblica;* and the only copy I have fallen in with is that in the Royal Library at Copenhagen; but it is defective, beginning near the end of the viith, and ending near the conclusion of the xxth chapter. The following note is written by an anonymous hand, on the first clean leaf: 'A fragment of an old Danish translation of the book of Judges, with a preface, written by Peter Tideman, and doubtless, translated by him. Printed in Copenhagen, 1539, and not 1532, as Resen Bibl. p. 126, and Möller Hypon. I have seen a complete copy in Peter Ewertsen's collection, but this piece I purchased at the auction of the late Dr. Wöldike.' It is in 12mo. on middling paper, and the type is coarser than that with which the preceding translations were printed. It is inferior also, in point of language; and in different parts of the version, several obsolete and foreign words are observable. The translator sometimes follows the rendering of the Vulgate, and sometimes that of Luther."

Hitherto the DANES had been chiefly indebted to the indefatigable zeal of private individuals, for those por-

tions of the Holy Scriptures which had been translated into the vernacular language; but the first edition of the *whole* BIBLE owed its publication to the munificence of their monarch, Christian III.

The attempts which had been begun by Christian II. to introduce the principles of the Reformation into Denmark, were continued with greater prudence and success, under the following reign. Frederick I. granted perfect liberty of conscience to all his subjects, shortly after his accession to the throne; afforded the Lutherans the same protection and security as the Catholics; cut off the dependence which the bishops had on the papal see; and retained for himself the right of confirming their election, after they had been chosen by the chapters. These advances towards an entire emancipation, which he effected at the diet of Odense, 1527, were accelerated by that of Copenhagen, 1530; after which period the cause of the reformers was espoused by the greater part of the nobility, and received accessions of strength and influence daily. But it was reserved for CHRISTIAN III. to bring to perfection what his royal predecessors had commenced; to break in pieces the hierarchical yoke; to establish the Protestant doctrine as the religion of the state; and to adopt measures for securing its purity and perpetuity. A new form of ecclesiastical government and discipline was drawn up, and introduced; important regulations were made for the conducting of the schools; the privileges of the university were renewed and extended; and the greatest care was taken to promote the illumination both of the clergy and laity.

Of all the steps, however, that were taken in order more fully to establish, and completely to secure, the safety of Protestantism, in Denmark, none tended more directly, or more rapidly, to the attainment of this important end, than the translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue. Detached portions of it had already been

published at different times; but no edition of the *whole* had yet appeared. This defect was pointed out to the king, by the famous Bugenhagen, whom he had invited to Copenhagen, to assist in the reformation of ecclesiastical abuses, and who possessed no ordinary degree of his confidence and esteem. While he expatiated to his majesty on the glorious effects resulting from the general diffusion of the Word of God, in Germany, he did not fail to notice the excellencies of Luther's version, and to recommend it as the text from which the Danish translation ought to be made. To this, it is probable, he was induced, not from any depreciating idea of the abilities of the Danish professors, for some of them had received distinguished academical honours at Wittemberg itself, but with a view to prevent a construction being put upon certain passages of Scripture, that might be supposed to favour the Zuinglian opinions, to which, it was suspected, some of them at that time were partial. The execution of the work was committed to the theological faculty, which was at that time composed of PETER PALLADIUS, OLAVE CHRYSOSTOM, JOHN SYNNING, or SIUNESÖN, and JOHN MACCHABÆUS, or MACALPINE.

The early impressions of the Danish Scriptures were almost all executed abroad. There had, indeed, been a printing office established in Copenhagen as early as 1493; but the influence of such as were hostile to the translation of the Word of God, was too great to admit the first vernacular versions to be printed at home; and though the press had received several improvements and enlargements subsequent to its first erection, it was, nevertheless, found to be inadequate to so stupendous a work as that of printing the whole Bible. The Copenhagen divines were therefore obliged to procure a foreign printer, who might be able to execute it satisfactorily; and ultimately fixed on *Lodowich Dietz*, of Rostock, who had rendered himself celebrated by his masterly execution of Luther's

Bible, in the *Low-Saxon* language. Some have supposed that he was sent for at the instance of Bugenhagen, but Dietz himself, in his appendix to the *Low-Saxon* New Testament, which he printed in 1553, mentions Dr. Macchabæus as his particular friend and patron. It also appears from the same appendix, that Dietz was well rewarded by the king, for his pains, for which he there thanks him, and praises his laudable undertaking.

In 1546, the paper destined for the work arrived, (most probably from Holland,) at Elsinore, and in order to meet the expenses of it, together with those connected with the printing, a tax of two rix-dollars was levied on every church in Denmark. It was not, however, till 1550, that the Bible was completed. The title of it is, "BIBLIA, det er den gantske, &c." "BIBLIA, i. e. the whole of Sacred Scripture translated into Danish. 'The Word of God abideth for ever.' Isaiah xl. Printed in Copenhagen, by Ludowich Dietz, 1550." This is inserted in the middle of a cut, representing the giving of the Law, the eating of the forbidden fruit, and its consequence, death; the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ; and at the foot, two men, one of whom has a Bible under his arm, are shewing a wretched sinner to Christ on the cross. The same cut is inserted at the beginning of the prophets, and New Testament. On the inside of the title-page is the portrait of Christian III. The two following pages present us with a paradisaical scene, and the Danish arms, with the inscription: INSIGNIA CHRISTIANI TERTII DANORUM REGII, &c. anno MDL. together with the royal and most Christian motto of this monarch: UNICA SPES MEA CHRISTUS. C. R. D.

It forms a middle sized folio, consisting of 1090 pages, and is tolerably well printed on good strong paper. It is divided into five parts: the first, containing the Pentateuch; the second, the rest of the historical books, and the Hagiography; the third, the writings of the Pro-

phets; the fourth, the Apocrypha; and the fifth, the New Testament. A royal patent is prefixed stating the design of the translation to have been, to furnish such as were unacquainted with the Latin and German languages, with the Word of God in their own tongue, that they might reap that advantage from it, which it was calculated to afford, having been previously revised by learned men in Denmark, and particularly by those in the university;—a declaration which seems to intimate, that it had gone through several hands before it was referred to the professors, and that the principal concern they had was its final revision: after which the royal patent concludes with a prohibition, forbidding any one to reprint this Bible, or publish any edition of the Scriptures, without the king's permission. Then follows an excellent preface, written by Bishop Palladius, in which the advantages of Revelation are forcibly pointed out; the Holy Scriptures enforced as the source of religious truth, and the standard by which the Fathers, councils, &c. are to be judged; the qualifications necessary to a profitable reading of the Bible specified; and the means to be employed in order to understand it in its proper meaning clearly explained. The chapters are divided into paragraphs, sometimes longer and sometimes shorter, but generally more compendious than the *Parashahs* of the Hebrew Scriptures. The more remarkable passages are printed in a larger type than the rest of the text; and the term "HERRE," when used for Jehovah, is always printed with capitals. The lines proceed along the whole breadth of the page. Several wood-cuts, illustrative of the Sacred History, are copied from those in the German Bibles; and the notes and references of Luther are printed in the margin. The version itself, agreeably to the advice given by Bugenhagen, follows that of Luther, except in a few instances, in which the translators have mistaken the meaning of the German.

The number of copies printed of the Danish Bible, amounted to *three thousand.* When they were ready, a bookbinder was procured from Lubeck, who engaged to deliver 2000 copies bound in whole leather, with clasps, within a year and a day, for *two marks* Danish per copy, beside lodging, as appears from a royal brief given at the Royal Palace, Copenhagen, on the 8th of July, 1550. The price at which copies were sold was 3 rix-dollars each. Of the impression, 257 copies were sent to the diocese of Scania; 110 were appropriated to the churches in Zealand; 123 were sent to Ribe; 320 to Aarhus; 200 to Viborg; 150 to Vendsyssel; 96 to Norway; 108 to Laaland, Falster, and the adjacent islands; 33 to Gulland, and 3 to Iceland. *(Læsendes Aarbog* for 1800, pp. 13, 14.*)* The remaining copies were sold to individuals who had a desire to read the Word of God, and were in possession of means sufficient to meet the expense connected with the purchase of it.

The names of those members of the theological faculty who were engaged in this important undertaking have been already mentioned. The following biographical notices of them, will enable the reader still more fully to appreciate their character and labours.

Peter Palladius, to whom the chief care of the translation was committed, was born at Ribe, in 1503. Here he laid the foundation of his knowledge of the learned languages; and after spending some time in Copenhagen and Odense, visited Wittemberg, where he was indefatigable in his application to the study of theology, and unremitting in his attendance on the public lectures of Luther, Melancthon, and Justus Jonas. The progress he made during his stay at that university was so conspicuous, that when Christian III. consulted the Wittemberg divines, in regard to a fit person for carrying on his views relative to church-affairs, in Denmark, they unanimously recommended Palladius to him; on which he

took his doctor's degree, and returned, in 1537, to Copenhagen, where he was immediately made professor of divinity. In this situation he so gained the esteem of the king, and of the other professors and divines, that on the 2nd of September, in the same year, he was installed, as the first Lutheran bishop, into the see of Zealand. In 1545, finding the discharge of the duties connected with both posts greater than he was able to bear, he relinquished his professorship, and confined his attention exclusively to his episcopal charge. Beside his vigilant superintendence of ecclesiastical affairs, he wrote much for the elucidation and defence of the truth. Zwergius enumerates 27 works of his, which have been printed, exclusive of a number of MSS. in Latin and Danish. Many of his publications consist of Commentaries on the Sacred Scriptures. One of his works, now before me, which was printed at Frankfort, by Peter Brubach, 1558, small 8vo. is intituled "De Bibliis Sacris et Libris Veteris et Novi Testamenti." It is an excellent analysis of the different books of the Bible, and is accompanied with an exposition of Christ's Prayer, contained in the 17th chapter of St. John's Gospel. He thus distinguishes the canonical and apocryphal writings. 1st. "The *Canonical Books* are those by which the authority of the doctrines of divines is confirmed. 2nd. The *Apocryphal*, or doubtful, are those, the truth of which is uncertain, and which only serve for the edification of the people, and not for the confirmation of ecclesiastical doctrines; such are the books of *Judith*, *Wisdom*, *Tobit*, *Jesus Sirach*, *Baruch*, *Maccabees*, and the fragments of *Esther* and *Daniel*. All the rest are canonical, or authentic, on which account the Scriptures are termed the canonical, or authentic Scriptures, and they who read or interpret them are called *Canons*."[39] Palladius departed this life in 1560.

Olaus, or Olave Chrysostom, was a native of Vend-

(39) Palladius, De Bibliis Sacris, p. 5.

syssel, in Jutland, and one of the first and most zealous defenders of the doctrines of the Reformation in Denmark. He was for some time professor of the *Belles Lettres*, in Malmoe, and afterwards received the appointment of Hebrew professor, and preacher of Lady-church, in Copenhagen. In 1542, he was rector of the university, and ordinary professor of divinity; and two years afterwards took his doctor's degree. He was highly esteemed by his colleagues, but the students were by no means partial to him, which was probably the cause of his being removed to another situation. This happened in 1549, when he was nominated to the see of Aalborg, where he died, in 1553.

JOHN SYNNING, or SIUNESÖN, was also a native of Jutland. In 1544, we find him filling the divinity-chair, in Copenhagen, and shortly after officiating as preacher of the church of the Holy Ghost, (Freherus says, of the church of St. Hospitius.) This latter office he afterwards gave up, and applied himself solely to his academical functions. He died in 1577. (Worm's *Lexicon*, art. Siunesön.)[40]

JOHN MACCHABÆUS, or M'BEE, was a native of Scotland, and descended from an ancient and noble family. His true name was *Macalpine*, of the celebrated clan Alpine. From his infancy he discovered a strong propensity to learning, which was encouraged by his parents, who provided him with the most learned teachers they could procure. Having embraced the principles of the Reformation, he was obliged, in 1532, to flee into England, where he was entertained by Bishop Shaxton, and also gained the esteem of Lord Cromwell. Here he married a lady of Scotch extraction, whose name was Agnes Machison. From England he passed over to the Continent, and for some time resided at Wittemberg,

(40) Henderson's MS.
See also Freheri Theatrum, pt. i. pp. 172. 181.

where he formed an intimate friendship with Luther and Melancthon, the latter of whom gave him the name of *Macchabæus*, from the similarity between his character and circumstances, and those of the ancient Jewish champions. He also spent some time at Strasburg, where several English refugees then resided. He was afterwards invited to Denmark, by Christian III. who employed him in the great work of aiding the establishment of the reformed religion in his dominions; and made him a professor in the university of Copenhagen. He was highly esteemed by the Danish monarch, who, at his request, wrote to Queen Mary of England, in behalf of his brother-in-law, Miles Coverdale, bishop of Exeter and the venerable translator of the Bible, who was released from prison through his importunity.

Macchabæus was well acquainted with the Danish and German languages, which, added to his general character for piety and learning, occasioned his appointment as one of the translators of the Danish Bible. He was the author of various works designed to support and spread the principles of true Christianity. After labouring for many years in the cause of truth, he was called to his eternal reward, December 6th, 1557. By his wife Agnes Machison, he left a son, CHRISTIAN, born at Wittemberg, 1541, who became president of the college of Sora, in Zealand, and canon and archdeacon of Lunden.[41]

It would also appear from a royal receipt, dated Feb. 13th, 1557, that HEMMINGIUS, professor of Hebrew; PETER TIDEMAN, whose translation of the book of Judges has already been described; and HANS HENRICKSON; had each his share in the execution of the translation, for which certain sums are there stated to have been paid them. A certain allowance was also paid, out of the funds appropriated to the publication of the Bible, to

(41) M'Crie's Life of Knox, I. pp. 357—359. Edinb. 1814, 8vo. Freheri Theatrum, pars i. pp. 174, 175. 305.

CHRISTIERN PEDERSEN, the author of a former version of the New Testament, for writing out a fair copy from the several translations which were made by those appointed to the work. (*Langebekiana*, pp. 295, 297.)

Though far distant from the seat of the Reformation, the island of ICELAND also soon experienced its happy effects. A translation of the NEW TESTAMENT, into the NORSE or ICELANDIC idiom, was completed in 1539, by ODDUR GOTTSHALKSON; and printed in 1540, in 12mo. at Roschild, in Denmark, by Hans Barth. The title-page of this edition is ornamented with a cut, emblematical of the spread of the Gospel. The translation is made from the Latin, with some emendations from the German version of Luther; and is said, "in point of language, to bear the palm from all the succeeding versions."

The circumstances under which Oddur undertook and prosecuted his invaluable work, exhibit a striking proof of the difficulties with which many of the first translators of the Scriptures had to encounter. At the time of commencing his translation, Oddur was engaged in the service of Ogmund, bishop of Skalholt, the determined enemy of the Reformation, and its doctrines. Of this enmity the following instance is given: Gisle Jonson, the rector of the cathedral, having imbibed certain Lutheran principles, was one day reading the German version of Luke, in an obscure corner of the church, when he was unexpectedly surprised by the bishop, who instantly demanded what book he was reading? The panic-struck priest could make no reply. Enraged at his silence, the bishop coarsely exclaimed, "Show it me, thou son of a ——." The New Testament was immediately delivered to Ogmund, who no sooner opened it, than he condemned it as full of Lutheran heresy, and threw it with violence into the court, before the church. To avoid detection by so formidable and avowed an enemy, Oddur was obliged to employ every precaution that pru-

dence could dictate. With this view, he retired to a small cell in a cow-house. In this humble apartment, he was occupied in transcribing ancient ecclesiastical statutes and constitutions; and on showing his progress to the prelate, obtained those supplies of paper, and writing materials, which enabled him to prosecute his favourite design. But he had only advanced in this translation, to the end of Matthew, when he was obliged to quit the episcopal see, probably through information lodged against him, on account of his principles.* On quitting Skalholt, he leased the farm of *Reykium*, in the district of *Olves*, and there completed his translation. In order to have it printed, he sailed the same year to Denmark, and obtained for it the patronage of his Majesty Christian III. who, on its being approved by the university, issued an edict, authorizing its publication: and it was accordingly printed the ensuing year, to the great joy of Oddur, and his friends, and the general benefit of the inhabitants of Iceland; and was the *first* Icelandic New Testament.

This eminent translator, ODDUR GOTTSHALKSON, was the son of the bishop of Holum. In his sixth year, he was committed to the care of his uncle Guttorm, a lawyer, in Norway, by whom he was sent to the school of Bergen, under the pious and learned Magister Petræus. Whilst at Bergen, the doctrines of the Reformation attracted his attention, and at length created in him the utmost anxiety of mind. At a loss to decide what was truth, he sought wisdom of God. For three successive nights he prostrated himself, half naked, upon the floor of his apartment, and besought the Father of Lights, to open the eyes of his understanding, and show him the truth. The result was a firm conviction that the cause of the reformer was the cause of God. From Bergen he proceeded to Germany, and heard the sermons of Luther and Melancthon. On returning to Iceland, he entered

into the employment of Ogmund, bishop of Skalholt. Here he associated with Gisle Jonson, the rector of the cathedral mentioned above; Gissur Einarson, the bishop's secretary; and his steward, Oddur Eyolfson; all of whom used to meet at the house of the latter, in order to read the Scriptures, and the works of Luther. Beside the *New Testament*, he also translated the 53rd chapter of Isaiah, into his native tongue. He added to it short expository notes, and got it printed at Copenhagen, in 1558. All his translations which were made public by him, were printed at his own expense. In 1554, he was made lawyer of the northern division of the island, an office which he filled with great credit till 1556, when he lost his life in the river *Laxá*, in the Kiosar district.[42]

Prussia, as well as Iceland, received at an early period, the principles of the Lutheran Reformation. In 1523, Luther sent John Brisman, a Franciscan doctor of divinity, into Prussia; and also, in less than a year after, Paul Sperat, who, for preaching the Gospel in Moravia, had been condemned to a noisome dungeon at Olmutz, by the persecuting bishop of that city, but had providentially escaped to Wittemberg. These laborious and excellent men were joined by John Poliander, and George de Polentz, bishop of Samland. Of this prelate, Luther speaks with triumphant satisfaction and delight. "At length," says he to Spalatinus, "one bishop is come forward, and with a single eye, has given himself up to the cause of Christ and his Gospel, in Prussia. I mean the Bishop of Samland, who listens to the fostering instruction of Brisman, whom we sent there after that he had cast off the monkish habit." So much, indeed, did this bishop distinguish himself by his evangelical exertions, that he may truly be called the Father of the Reformation in that country; and appears to have been the first prelate

(42) See the "Historical View," appended to Dr. Henderson's *Iceland;* a work to which this account is entirely indebted.

who ventured to recommend to his clergy the study of Luther's writings. "Read," said he, "with a pious and diligent spirit, the translation of the Old and New Testament by that most famous divine, Dr. Martin Luther. Read his tracts on Christian liberty, and on good works, also his explanations of the Epistles and Gospels, and of the Magnificat and the Psalms." In the same public advice to his clergy, he lamented the ignorance of the people, and exhorted them to perform the baptismal service no longer in Latin, but in the language of the country; adding, that "it was the will of God that the promises of the Gospel should be explained in intelligible language."[43] The advice of the good bishop to his clergy to read the *Explanations* of Scripture by Luther, leads us to remark, in the words of a celebrated ecclesiastical historian, that "The first and principal object that drew the attention, and employed the industry, of the reformers, was the exposition and illustration of the Sacred Writings, which, according to the doctrine of the Lutheran church, contain all the treasures of celestial wisdom; all things that relate to faith and practice. Hence it happened, that the number of commentators and expositors among the Lutherans, was equal to that of the eminent and learned doctors that adorned that communion. At the head of them all, Luther and Melancthon are undoubtedly to be placed; the former on account of the sagacity and learning discovered in his explications of several portions of Scripture, and particularly of the Books of Moses; and the latter, in consequence of his commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, and other learned labours of that kind, which are abundantly known. A second class of expositors, of the same communion, obtained also great applause in the learned world, by their successful application to the study of the Holy Scriptures, in which we may rank Matthias Flacius,

(43) Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, V. pp. 178, 179.

whose *Glossary*, and *Key to the Sacred Writings** is extremely useful in unfolding the meaning of the inspired penmen; John Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas, Andrew Osiander, and Martin Chemnitz, whose *Harmonies of the Evangelists* are not void of merit. To these we may add Victor Strigelius, and Joachim Camerarius, of whom the latter, in his *Commentary on the New Testament*, expounds the Scriptures in a grammatical and critical manner only; and laying aside all debated points of doctrine and religious controversy, unfolds the sense of each term, and the spirit of each phrase, by the rules of criticism, and the genius of the ancient languages, in which he was a very uncommon proficient."

"All these expositors and commentators abandoned the method of the ancient interpreters, who, neglecting the plain and evident purport of the words of Scripture, were perpetually torturing their imaginations, in order to find out a mysterious sense in each word or sentence, or were hunting after insipid allusions, and chimerical applications of Scripture-passages, to objects which never entered into the views of the inspired writers. On the contrary, their principal zeal and industry were employed in investigating the natural force and signification of each expression, in consequence of that golden rule of interpretation inculcated by Luther, *That there is no more than one sense annexed to the words of Scripture, throughout all the books of the Old and New Testament.*† It must, however, be acknowledged, that the examples exhibited by these judicious expositors were far from being universally followed. Be that as it may, all the expositors of this age may be divided, methinks, with propriety enough, into two classes, with Luther at the head of the one, and

* "The Latin titles are *Glossa Scripturæ Sacræ*, and *Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ*."

† "This golden rule will be found often defective and false, unless several prophetical, parabolical, and figurative expressions, be excepted in its application." *Note by Translator.*

Melancthon presiding in the other. Some commentators followed the example of the former, who, after a plain and familiar explication of the sense of Scripture, applied its decisions to the fixing of controverted points, and to the illustration of the doctrines and duties of religion. Others discovered a greater propensity to the method of the latter, who first divided the discourses of the Sacred Writers into several parts, explained them according to the rules of rhetoric, and afterwards proceeded to a more strict and almost a literal exposition of each part, taken separately, applying the result, as rarely as was possible, to points of doctrine, or matters of controversy."[44]

The zeal displayed by the early reformers, in translating, circulating, and explaining the Scriptures, extended its influence to HUNGARY, and occasioned the translations of several parts of the Sacred Writings. Le Long notices a translation of the FOUR GOSPELS and the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, into the *Hungarian* tongue, made in 1541, by JOHN SYLVESTER, an Hungarian, and dedicated to Ferdinand and his son Maximilian. This translation was never printed.—The same learned bibliographer mentions the EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL, in the *Hungarian* tongue, printed at Cracow, 1533, 8vo.; the FOUR GOSPELS, translated by GABRIEL PANNONIUS PESTINUS, printed at Vienna, 1536, 8vo.; the FOUR GOSPELS, the EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL, and the REVELATION, printed in 1541, 4to.; and the whole of the NEW TESTAMENT, printed at Vienna, in 1574, 4to.[45]

The NEW TESTAMENT, and the BOOK OF PSALMS, were also translated into the FINNISH language, by MICHAEL AGRICOLA, a native of the province of Nyland, pastor, and afterwards bishop of Abo, in Finland, who had embraced the Lutheran sentiments. This version, which

(44) Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. translated by Dr. Maclaine, IV. pt. ii. sec. 3, pp. 304—306.

(45) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. p. 446. Paris, 1723.

was made from the *Swedish*, was printed at Stockholm, in 1548, 4to. Agricola died in 1556.[46]

Nor ought we to omit the mention of the Biblical labours of JOHN POTKEN, *Prepositus* or bishop of the cathedral-church of St. George, at Cologne. Induced by the desire to furnish the ETHIOPIANS who visited Rome, with an impression of the Psalms, and some other parts of the Scriptures, in their native tongue, and its appropriate characters, he applied himself to the study of the *Ethiopic* language, and by the assistance of an Ethiopian or Abyssinian monk, acquired sufficient knowledge to print an edition of the PSALMS, and of the SONG OF SOLOMON, in 1513, in 4to. To this work he subjoined the Ethiopic Alphabet, and a brief Introduction to the reading of the Ethiopic tongue. It was printed at Rome, by Marcellus Silber, or Franck; and was the first book printed in Europe with the Ethiopic character. In 1518, he published at Cologne a *Polyglott* PSALTER, in fol. containing the *Hebrew* Text, with the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Ethiopic* Versions. The *Ethiopic*, Potken called the *Chaldee*, according to the practice of the Ethiopians themselves. The Polyglott Psalter was probably printed by himself, as no printer's name is mentioned. He was assisted in this work by his learned kinsman JOHN SOTER, or HEYL.[47]

Returning to the NETHERLANDS, we discover the doctrines of the Reformation rapidly spreading through the several provinces of that country, and causing the frequent printing of the BELGIC or *Dutch* Bible. An old translation of the *Belgic* Scriptures had been printed as early as 1475, and again in 1477, and 1479; several editions were also printed at Antwerp early in the sixteenth

(46) Placcii Theatrum Anonymorum, I. p. 671. Hamburg, 1708, fol. Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. I. p. 417.

(47) Le Long. edit. Masch, pt. ii. vol. I. sec. 6. pp. 146—148; and pt. i, cap. iii. p. 401.

[See also vol. I. p. 148, of this work.]

century. These all appear to have been Roman Catholic translations made from the Latin Vulgate; but in 1526, JACOB À LIESVELDT, a famous printer of Antwerp, published an edition of the *Belgic* BIBLE, translated by certain learned men, whose names, unfortunately, have not been transmitted to us, which seems to have been collated with such parts of Luther's German version as had then been published, and in succeeding editions to have been rendered still more conformable to the version of the great reformer. The numerous editions of this translation, printed by the same printer, have gained them the name of *Liesveldt's Bibles*. Various editions of the Scriptures in the *Belgic* dialect were published by William Vorsterman and others, many of which were afterwards prohibited by the inquisition.[48]

This rapid multiplication of copies of the Scriptures was regarded by the adherents to popery, as heretical and dangerous in the extreme. The most violent measures were resorted to, in order to prevent the dissemination of these vernacular translations, and to check the progress of the Reformation. Fines, imprisonment, and death, were denounced against the advocates of evangelical truth, and persecution raged against them in its most sanguinary forms. In the years 1523, and 1524, the most dreadful severity was exercised towards those who dared publicly to avow their belief of the doctrines propagated by Luther and his followers. The following is an instance: the Curate of Melza, at Antwerp, had been in the habit of explaining the *Gospel*, on Sundays, to a vast concourse of people. An express order was issued to forbid the practice, and permission given to take the uppermost garment of all that assembled to hear, whilst thirty guilders were offered for the apprehen-

(48) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. pp. 409, 410.
Adleri Biblioth. Biblica, Plut. 35.
Walchii Biblioth. Theolog. IV. p. 125.

sion of the priest himself. The people, however, were not easily deterred, and met in the dock-yards as usual. The preacher or expositor not making his appearance, a zealous youth, named Nicholas, placed himself in a boat near the shore, and addressed the audience, in a pious manner, from the chapter concerning the five loaves and two fishes: but the very next day he was ordered to be seized, and put into a sack lest he should be known by the people; and in that state he was suddenly thrown into the river and drowned.[49] In the same year, 1524, a placard or mandate was published, bearing date the 1st of April, by which "it was forbidden to print any books, unless they had been viewed and approved by persons duly authorized." On the 25th of September, 1525, another placard was issued, forbidding "all open and secret meetings, in order *to read and preach the Gospel, the Epistles of St. Paul,* and other spiritual writings, or to talk of, and interpret the same." Afterwards, another edict was published, which had been previously drawn up by the Emperor himself in council. The contents of it were to the following effect:

"That the vulgar had been deceived and misled, partly by the contrivance of some ignorant fellows, who took upon them to preach the *Gospel* privately, without the leave of their superiors, explaining the same, together with other Holy Writings, after their own fancies, and not according to the orthodox sense of the doctors of the church, racking their brains to produce new-fangled doctrines. But," adds the placard, "these heresies happened in some measure, and were augmented, by reason that some of the laity, who were weak and unlearned persons, read the *Flemish,* and *Walloon,* (or *French,)* Gospels, explaining them according to their own private judgment, and according to the letter, and

(49) Fox's Actes and Monumentes, II. p. 116. Lond. 1641, fol. Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, V. ch. x. p. 190.

held divers disputes among themselves, and in public meetings, about them; choosing such opinions as pleased them best." The placard, therefore, forba e in the emperor's name, "*All Assemblies*," (calling them *unlawful,*) "in order to read, speak, confer, or preach, concerning the Gospel, or other Holy Writings, in the *Latin*, *Flemish*, or *Walloon* languages." It was farther enjoined by the same edict; "That, together with the books of M. Luther, Pomeranus, Carolstadt, Melancthon, Oecolampadius, Franciscus Lamberti, Justus Jonas, and all other their adherents of the same sentiments, *all the* GOSPELS, EPISTLES, PROPHECIES, *and other books of the* HOLY SCRIPTURES, in *High Dutch*, *Flemish*, *Walloon*, or *French*, that had marginal notes, or expositions according to the doctrines of Luther, should be *brought to some public place, and there burnt*; and that whoever should presume to keep any of the aforesaid books, and writings, by them, after the promulgation of this placard, should *forfeit life and goods!*"

There were, however, some persons found who were "valiant for the Truth," and who, braving every danger that threatened them, hazarded their lives rather than burn their Bibles. This noble conduct produced another of those edicts, the spirit of which marked it as originating with him who was "a murderer from the beginning." On the 14th of October, 1529, a placard appeared at Brussels, whereby "all such as had in their custody any prohibited books, which they had not brought forth to be burnt, as required by former placards against heresy; or had otherwise contravened them, were condemned to death, without pardon, or reprieve."

The elaborate historian of the "Reformation in the Low Countries," when speaking of the general state of religion, and of Scriptural knowledge, emphatically remarks, "No letters, and no books were less minded in these times, by most of the clergy, than the BIBLE. Many

had been in holy orders for years without having ever read it. Some of them dipping into it accidentally were extremely surprised at its contents, as by no means agreeing with their lives, or doctrines. But those who renounced the errors of popery, made use of the Holy Scriptures for admonishing and instructing each other in their assemblies; and likewise translated Luther's *New Testament* into *Low Dutch*, or Belgic, and afterwards his *Bible*." One of the first printers of this translation, JACOB Á LIESVELDT, was condemned, and beheaded at Antwerp, because in the *Annotations* of one of his Bibles, he had said, *that the salvation of mankind proceeds from Christ alone!!* Somebody afterwards made a collection of the most comfortable passages in the Scriptures, and published them under the title of *The Well of Life*. But this little tract, which contained nothing but the very words of the Bible, *without any comment or explanation*, became so exceedingly offensive to the zealous defenders of the papal opinions, that a certain Franciscan friar of Brabant purposely took a journey to Amsterdam, where it had been first printed, purchased all the copies that remained of the impression, and burnt them. The work, however, was afterwards reprinted in different places.

The Emperor Charles V., who claimed the Netherlands as his hereditary dominions, continued to pursue, with unrelenting rigour, all who embraced the opinions of the reformers, and determined, if possible, to crush the rising cause of Luther and his adherents. On the last of July, 1546, he published, with this view, another placard against *Heretical Books*. By this it was ordered, "That none should presume to print any books, unless they first obtained from the Emperor, a license for exercising the trade of a printer, &c. on pain of death." The same edict further required, "That from thenceforwards, none should keep public schools, unless they

were previously approved, and admitted by the officer of the town or village, and the pastor of the parish church of the place where they proposed to open the same, or by such other persons, ecclesiastical, or temporal, as had been qualified to that end, by virtue of some ancient right or privilege, on pain of forfeiting 12 *Carolus Guilders*, for the first time; double for the second time; and of being for ever banished from the place of their habitation, if guilty of the same offence, the third time." The names of the books were also mentioned which the children were to use, exclusive of all others. This was followed by a *Catalogue* of all the books, which the faculty of divines of the university of Louvain, (after having examined them by order of the Emperor,) had declared to be evil and dangerous; and which were, therefore, prohibited by the present placard. Among the books thus prohibited were the *Latin Bibles*, printed at Paris, by Robert Stephens, in the years 1532, and 1540; by Francis Gryphius, in 1541, and 1542; at Basil, by Froben, in 1530, and 1538; at Antwerp, by J. Stels, in 1538, 1541, and 1542; at Lyons, by Sebastian Gryphius, in 1542. The *Bible*, with the *Annotations* of Sebastian Munster, printed at Basil, in 1535. The *Dutch Bible*, printed at Antwerp, by Jacob à Liesveldt, in 1542; by William Vorsterman, in 1528, 1534, 1544, 1545; and by Henry Peterson, in 1541. The *Walloon, or French Bibles* of Antwerp, in 1534, by Martin de Keiser; and in 1541, by Anthony de la Haye. The *New Testaments* in *Dutch*, printed by Liesveldt, in 1542, 1543, and 1544; together with 17 other impressions. [50]

Whilst the doctrines of Luther, notwithstanding the severity of the edicts issued against them, were widely spreading their influence in Germany, and the Low Countries, another reformer, of adventurous genius, and

(50) Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, I. B. ii. pp. 49. 54—59; B. iii. p. 85. Lond. 1720, fol.

great Scriptural knowledge, was laying the foundation, deep and broad in Switzerland, and the neighbouring dominions. This was ULRIC ZUINGLE, a canon of Zurich, whose extensive learning, uncommon sagacity, and heroic intrepidity, tempered by the greatest moderation, rendered him one of the most illustrious ornaments of his country, and of the protestant cause. He was born at Waldenhausen, or Wildhaus, in Switzerland, January 1st, 1487, or according to Hess, 1484. He studied successively at Basil or Basle, Berne, and Vienna, and after having passed through the different courses of learning taught in the schools of that period, with great applause, returned to Basil, and acquired considerable celebrity as a public teacher. He had only resided four years at Basil, when the burghers of Glaris, the chief town of the canton of that name, chose him for their pastor. Called to the exercise of the sacred office, he resolved to recommence his theological studies, according to a plan traced out by himself. His first object was to obtain a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures; he therefore applied with assiduity to the perusal of the *Old and New Testament.* His acute and penetrating mind was not, however, to be satisfied with the study of the Word of God through the medium of the *Latin* translation; he determined, if possible, to acquire an intimate knowledge of the original languages of the Scriptures, especially that of the New Testament. With this view, he laboured indefatigably in the acquirement of the *Greek*, the helps to which were scanty, and difficult to be obtained; he even copied the *Greek Text* of *St. Paul's Epistles* with his own hand, adding in the margin a multitude of notes, extracted from the Fathers of the church, as well as his own observations; intending, by this means, not only to acquire facility in the Greek, but to impress upon his mind more accurately the expressions and doctrines of the Apostle. This interesting manuscript still exists in

the Public Library of Zurich, and was made use of by Wetstein, in his critical edition of the New Testament. To the knowledge of the *Greek*, he subsequently added that of the *Hebrew*. It is also worthy of remark, that he regarded the expression of St. Peter, ch. i. 20, "No prophecy of Scripture is of any private interpretation," as directly implying the insufficiency of any one truly to understand the doctrines of Scripture, unless assisted by the Spirit of God. Whilst, therefore, he highly esteemed human learning, he sought, by earnest prayer, the aid of the Divine Spirit. It was also the practice of this great man to study standing.

In 1516, Zuingle was offered the situation of preacher to the convent of Einsiedeln, in the canton of Schweitz, by Theobald, baron of Geroldseck, the administrator. This station he accepted with pleasure, knowing it would afford him much more leisure for study than he had enjoyed at Glaris, and place him in the company of several learned, intelligent, and candid men, with whom he might freely converse on such subjects as appeared to him of the greatest importance, but which were too generally neglected or discountenanced by persons in authority. In this retreat, Zuingle found *Leo Judæ*, the principal author of a German translation of the Bible; *Francis Zingg*, chaplain of the apostolical see; *John Oechslein*, afterwards a great sufferer for his opinions; and other studious and zealous characters. In the library of Einsiedeln, they studied together the works of Erasmus; of Reuchlin, or Capnio; and of the Fathers; and derived from the confidential interchange of ideas, that conviction of the need of reformation in the doctrines and discipline of the church, which stimulated them to vigorous exertions in the cause of evangelical liberty and truth. A convent of nuns being placed under the direction of Zuingle, he established new rules among them, abolished several observances, and obliged the nuns to read the *New Testament*, instead of reciting the *Hours*.

He also required of them to live irreproachably, though he permitted such as had no predilection for the life of a recluse, to quit the convent, and contract a legal union.

In his office of preacher, he explained the Scriptures to the people, and freely censured the errors of the Romish church, though he had not then heard of Luther; and promoted with extraordinary effect, by his influence with the administrator, a reformation of many of the abuses and corruptions of popery, in several places of the Helvetic republic, without ever having read the writings of the German reformer, or having had any interview with him.

Afterwards, he was invited to become the pastor or preacher of the cathedral of Zurich. This important situation being accepted by him, he removed to that city. A few days after his arrival he was summoned before the chapter, to be installed in the office to which he had been appointed. He then gave notice, that in his discourses he should desert the order of the *Dominical Lessons*, or those appointed to be read statedly on Sundays and holy-days, and explain, in uninterrupted series, the books of the New Testament, in order to make his auditors acquainted with the whole contents of the Divine Volume, promising to have nothing in view in his sermons, but "the glory of God, and the instruction and edification of the faithful." This plan was approved by the majority of the chapter; there were, however, some who regarded it as an innovation likely to produce injurious consequences. Zuingle replied to their objections by saying, "that he was only returning to the practice of the primitive church, which had been continued to the time of Charlemagne; that he should observe the method made use of by the Fathers of the church, in their homilies; and that, by Divine assistance, he hoped to preach in such a manner, that no friend of Gospel truth should find reason to complain." Accordingly, on the

1st of January, 1519, he preached his first sermon, conformably to the plan announced to his superiors, and which he ever afterwards followed.

During the same year, he also gave a signal proof of his courage, by opposing, with the greatest resolution, and with triumphant success, the ministry of a certain Italian monk, whose name was Samson, and who was carrying on in Switzerland, the impious traffic of indulgences, with the most shameless impudence. This was followed, in 1522, by a letter; which Zuingle and others addressed to Hugh, bishop of Constance, against the celibacy of the clergy, urging him to allow them to marry, rather than suffer the filthy and profligate conduct of the priests. Zuingle also addressed a circular letter to the whole of the inhabitants of the Helvetic republic, entreating them not to obstruct the reformation of the church, nor molest those of the clergy who had married, observing, that the devil was the author of clerical celibacy; and reminding them, that it was a custom in some of their cantons, when they received a new curate, to enjoin him to keep a concubine, lest he should attempt the chastity of their wives, or their daughters; which would be more lawfully prevented by the permission of marriage.

In 1523, the senate and clergy of Zurich were assembled for the purpose of receiving the propositions of Zuingle, relative to the doctrines and discipline of the church. John Faber, afterwards bishop of Vienna, attended as the suffragan, or vicar, of the bishop of Constance, who exercised the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the canton of Zurich. In the defence of his propositions, Zuingle supported the sufficiency of Scripture, and in animated terms exclaimed, "Thanks to the invention of printing, the Sacred Books are now within the reach of all Christians; and I exhort the ecclesiastics here assembled, to study them unremittingly. They will

there learn to preach Christianity, such as it was transmitted to us by the Evangelists and Apostles. As to the Fathers of the church, I do not blame persons for reading and quoting them in the pulpit, provided it be where they are conformable to Scripture, and that they be not considered as infallible authority." The doctrines of Zuingle were adopted by the senate, who proclaimed throughout the whole of their government, that "the traditions of men being laid aside, the Gospel should be purely taught from the books of the *Old* and *New Testament*."

The Reformation being established by the magistrates of the canton of Zurich, Zuingle was commissioned to organize a system of public instruction. In the execution of this commission, our reformer banished from the schools of theology, those subtle writers who had long maintained oracular authority in their scholastic disputations; and took the *Old* and *New Testament* for the basis of his new course of instruction. He required of the professors intrusted with the interpretation of the Hebrew and Greek text, to compare the originals of the Sacred writers with the most established versions, such as the *Vulgate* and *Septuagint;* to cite the commentaries of the Jewish doctors on the Old Testament, and those of the Fathers on the New; to apply a knowledge of the manners and customs of the Jews, to the clearing up of obscure passages, to establish the true sense of each, to show its connection with the other truths of religion, and finally to point out the application to be made of them to morals, and the instruction of the people. The lectures on these subjects were given in the cathedral; and the ecclesiastics of the town, as well as the students of divinity, were obliged to attend them. Zuingle even endeavoured to attract thither all who had leisure and inclination for study; and in this he succeeded; for at that period, the interest in every thing which concerned

religion was such, that numerous auditors of all classes assiduously attended the theological lectures: and a taste for the ancient languages was so thoroughly diffused, that twenty years afterwards, it was not uncommon to meet with magistrates and merchants who could read the Old and New Testament in the original languages.

The doctrines of Zuingle having many points of resemblance to those of Luther, he was by many denominated a Lutheran. But though he thought well of the German reformer, he refused to be classed among his followers. "As far as I can judge," said he, "Luther is a very brave soldier of Christ, who examines the Scriptures with a diligence which no person else has used for the last thousand years. Luther's interpretations of Scripture are so well founded, that no creature can confute them: yet I do not take it well to be called by the papists a *Lutheran*, because I learned the doctrine of Christ from the Scriptures, and not from Luther." It is, however, to be lamented, that these two great men, at no very distant period, differed from each other, and engaged in a violent controversy, respecting the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; Zuingle affirming that it was merely a *commemorative* rite; and Luther maintaining that the partakers of the Lord's Supper received, *along with* the bread and wine, the *real* body and blood of Christ, though he denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, or actual change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. This tenet of Luther has been termed *Consubstantiation*, and was attempted to be explained by him, by saying, that, "as in a red hot iron, two distinct substances, viz. iron and fire, are united, so is the body of Christ joined with the bread in the eucharist."

The Sacramental controversy, as it has been usually called, happily did not prevent these eminent characters from endeavouring to spread, in their respective circles, the other important doctrines of the Reformation. They

continued to preach and publish their views of evangelical truth, to the close of their lives. Among the publications of Zuingle, his *Annotations* on several parts of Scripture deserve particular notice. The books on which his *Annotations*, or Commentaries were published, were *Genesis, Exodus, Isaiah, Jeremiah,* the *Four Gospels,* the *Epistles of Paul to the Romans, Corinthians, Philippians, Colossians,* and *Thessalonians,* the *Epistle of James,* the *Epistle to the Hebrews,* and the *First Epistle of John.* The Annotations on *Genesis* and *Exodus* were taken down, when publicly delivered, by Leo Judæ and Caspar Megander; and the *Annotations on the Gospels* by Leo Judæ alone. The works of Zuingle were collected and published, at Zurich, in 4 vols. fol. in 1545, and again in 1581; and at Basil, in 1593.

The progress of the Reformation in Switzerland, and the legal establishment of it in some of the cantons, induced the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the other confederated cantons, to draw the sword in defence of the doctrines and practices of popery. At that period, the Swiss were universally trained to arms, and obliged to take the field when the defence of their country required it: and so general was this obligation, that neither the ministers of the Gospel, nor the professors of theology, were exempted from military service. Zuingle and his coadjutors were, consequently, obliged to accompany the Protestants of Zurich to the field of battle, during the war which was waged betwixt the Protestants and Roman Catholics of the Helvetic republic. In one of the engagements, which took place on the 11th of October, 1531, Zuingle, and Jerom Potanus one of the theological doctors of Basil, were unfortunately slain. The barbarous revenge of the enemies of the Reformation was wreaked upon the dead body of Zuingle, which they quartered, and threw into the fire. His heart was afterwards found, and buried by his friends. Thus fell one

of the greatest champions of the Reformation in Switzerland; but though his death was universally mourned, his friends, Oecolampadius, Bullinger, and Bucer, with other enlightened advocates of Gospel truth, continued to labour in the sacred cause, which ultimately triumphed throughout the whole of the republic.[51]

The desire which prevailed among the disciples of Luther and Zuingle, to promote the interests of religion by the dissemination of the Scriptures, produced not only several vernacular translations, during the period of which we are writing, and which have been already noticed, but occasioned the two celebrated LATIN versions of SEBASTIAN MUNSTER, and LEO JUDÆ.

Munster's *Latin Version* was accompanied with the *Hebrew* Text, and short *Notes*, or Annotations; and extended only to the *Old Testament*. The first edition was printed at Basil, in 2 vols. fol. 1534—5. It was afterwards reprinted, with corrections and additions, at Basil, in 1546. The notes were chiefly selected from the rabbinical writers. It was the first translation made from the original text of the Old Testament, by those who had embraced the principles of the Reformation, and was deservedly held in high estimation, and is still useful to those who are commencing the study of the Hebrew. A great Biblical critic thus characterizes this work: "The version of Munster is much preferable to that of Pagninus, or of Arias Montanus, who have neglected the sense, by too scrupulous adherence to grammatical rules. On the contrary, Munster endeavours to deliver the sense, without being regardless of the principles of grammar; nor has he, like Arias Montanus, merely given the meaning of each word independently consider-

(51) Hess's Life of Zuingle, by Lucy Aikin, Lond. 1812, 8vo. *passim*.
Adami Vit. Germ. Theolog. pp. 25—45.
Sleidan's Hist. of the Reformation, pp. 48. 51. 57. 156.
Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. IV. pp. 48, 49. 361—365.
Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, V. p. 535.

ed, but has considered the connection in which they are placed; and though his style is not perfectly pure, it is neither excessively rude, nor barbarous."[52] Geddes also pronounces it to be "little less literal, but more perspicuous and elegant, than that of Pagninus. The rabbins," he adds, "were his chief guides; and his annotations are compiled with no small discernment from their best works."[53] An edition of Munster's *Latin* version of the *Old Testament*, and of Erasmus's *Latin* version of the *New Testament*, was printed at Zurich, by Christopher Froschover, in 1539, with a short preface by the learned HENRY BULLINGER. The editor of it is supposed to be CONRAD PELLICAN.[54]

The *Old Testament* of the other *Latin* version to which we have referred, by LEO JUDÆ, which is generally called the *Zurich Latin Bible*, was also made immediately from the *Hebrew*. Leo dying before the work was completed, THEODORE BIBLIANDER translated the last eight chapters of *Ezekiel*, the book of *Daniel*, *Job*, the last forty-eight *Psalms*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Song of Solomon;* PETER CHOLIN translated the *Apocryphal Books* from the *Greek;* and he and RODOLPH GUALTER revised the *Latin* version of Erasmus, and added a *metrical Analysis of the Old and New Testament*. Bibliander also added the marginal notes and various readings. The editor, who had the general revision of the whole, was CONRAD PELLICAN, who, in Leo's last sickness, had promised him to correct, and promote the completion, of the whole. It was printed at Zurich, by C. Froschover, in 1543, fol. and in 1545. Robert Stephens, the printer, of Paris; reprinted this version along with the Vulgate, and added certain scholia, or notes, which he professed to be by Vatablus, the learned Hebrew professor of the

(52) Simon, Hist. Crit. du Vieux Testament, lib. ii. cap. xxi. p. 359.
(53) Geddes's Prospectus of a New Translation, p. 75.
(54) Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. ii. vol. III. cap. iii. sec. 1. p. 458.

university of Paris, from whence that edition acquired the name of the *Bible of Vatablus*, though that learned professor disavowed the notes, which had probably been taken in short-hand when he delivered his public lectures.[55] F. Simon says of this version, that "it preserves the mean betwixt those versions which are too literal and barbarous, and those which are written in a style too affected and elegant." The same critical writer remarks, that in the New Testament, "they have taken Erasmus for their guide, whom, nevertheless, they often abandon. But they speak of him very honourably in their preface, in which they declare that they have collated this edition of the New Testament with the Greek original as their rule, and that they have sometimes consulted some ancient copies, the edition of Cardinal Ximenes, that of Paris, and another of England; beside the ancient versions." In the margin of the New Testament, the translators have added brief notes to explain the most obscure places, especially the Hebraisms, intended chiefly to illustrate the style of the inspired writers; and "if they do not always succeed, they at least show evident proofs of good judgment, at a time when people were not very exact in critical inquiries relative to the Sacred Books." An instance or two will exemplify their method: thus in the 20th chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, where, conformably to the Greek, they have translated the 28th verse, "Utque daret animam suam redemptionem pro multis," "to give his life a ransom for many," they have observed in their note, that the word *many* signifies *all*, according to the genius of the Greek tongue; at least, that this is the sense which the Hebrews give to their noun כל *(cal)*. "Pro multis, id est, pro tota multitudine hominum. Sic enim Græci solent τες πολλες vocare ipsam universitatem hominum; quamvis articulus absens nonnihil huic censui

(55) Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. ii. vol. III. cap. iii. sec. 1. pp. 439—443.

derogaret; nisi Hebræi quoque sic uterentur suo כל." Again in the 28th chapter, where they have translated, with the Vulgate, "Docete omnes gentes," "Teach all nations," they remark, that with respect to the grammatical sense, "*docete*," "teach," is the same thing as "*discipulate*," or "discipulos facite," "make disciples."[56]

The following brief notices of the learned men engaged in these translations, will probably be acceptable to the reader.

SEBASTIAN MUNSTER was born in 1489, at Ingelheim, in Germany. In the early part of his life he was a Franciscan friar, and applied himself assiduously to divinity, the mathematics, and cosmography. He was one of the first who attached himself to Luther, but not with that zeal which distinguished many others of the reformers, though he was the scholar and steady friend of Conrad Pellican, whom he succeeded as professor of Hebrew at Basil. Beside his *Translation of the Old Testament*, and *Annotations*, he was the author of several other very learned works, particularly a *Chaldee Grammar* and *Lexicon*, a *Talmudical Lexicon*, a *Universal Cosmography*, and a *Disputation between a Jew and a Christian* in Hebrew and Latin. Some of these works were published prior to his secession from the church of Rome, as appears from the titles, in which he designates himself "Sebastian Munster, a Minorite." He also was the first who published the GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW in HEBREW. In his dedication to Henry VIII. king of England, he says, that he did not print this version exactly as it was in the MS. which he had obtained from the Jews, and which was torn and defective, but supplied the deficiencies according to the best of his ability. This work was printed at Basil in 1537, fol. and again in 1557, and 1582. JOHN CINQUARBRES, or QUINQARBOREUS, as he

(56) Simon's Crit. Hist. of the Versions of the N. T. pt. ii. ch. xxiii. pp. 200—204.

styled himself in Latin, published also an edition at Paris, in 1551, in 8vo. One of the motives to this publication was the hope entertained by some of the friends of Munster, of converting the Jews; but he himself had another motive to induce its publication. He supposed that St. Matthew's Gospel was written in *Hebrew*, and that this publication might be of use in ascertaining the meaning of the Greek text. But as the dialect of Munster's edition is the modern Rabbinical Hebrew, it can be of no use in Biblical criticism. Though Munster lived in an age of controversy, he avoided the theological disputes which were so violently agitated at that period. He died of the plague, at Basil, 1552, aged 63. From his publications on the Scriptures, and on Cosmography, he was called the "Ezra" and "Strabo" of Germany.[57]

Leo Judæ was descended from respectable Christian ancestors, inhabitants of Alsace. His father, who was a priest, and consequently forbidden to marry by the canons of the Romish church, attempted, according to the custom of those times, to evade the injunction, by having a concubine, to whom he regarded himself as married. Leo, who was the fruit of this illegitimate union, was born in 1482. After receiving the first rudiments of learning, he was sent to Basil. Here he had the celebrated Ulric Zuingle for his fellow student, with whom he formed a lasting friendship. In 1512, he was admitted to the degree of master of arts, and of philosophy; and was elected deacon of the church of St. Theodore. He was afterwards chosen one of the ministers of Zurich, and became one of the most decided opponents to the superstitions of the Romish church. At the request of several of his learned friends, he undertook his *Translation of the Old Testament* from the *Hebrew;* having

(57) Lempriere's General Biog. Dict.
Simon, Lettres Choisies, III. p. 113.
Marsh's Michaelis, III. pt. i. sec. 10, pp. 195—197.

previously delivered lectures upon the Bible for eighteen years. In this great work, he consulted various scholars, and examined not only different Hebrew MSS. but collated them with the Greek and Latin versions. His intense application to the work impaired his health, and he fell a sacrifice to it, before he was able to complete it. He died, declaring his confidence in the "Lord Jesus Christ, as his deliverer, hope, and salvation," on the 19th of June, 1542, aged 60.[58]

THEODORE BIBLIANDER, whose proper name was BOUCHMAN or BUCHMANN, was a native of Switzerland, born in 1500, or according to some, in 1504. Having devoted himself to the study of theology and the languages, he excelled as an orientalist and divine. He succeeded Zuingle as professor of Sacred literature, and commenced his lectures in 1532, at Zurich, where his lectures were attended by persons of all ranks and ages. He died of the plague, November 26th, 1564. Beside what he translated of the *Old Testament* from the *Hebrew*, he was the author of a *Life of Mohammed*, of a translation of the *Koran* from the *Arabic*, printed at Basil, 1543, fol. with a preface by Philip Melancthon; and of several other works.[59]

PETER CHOLIN, a native of Zug in Switzerland, eminent for his piety and skill in languages, was one of the professors of Zurich. His peaceful death, which happened in 1542, on the day in which the *Zurich Bible* was finished, corresponded with the uniform integrity of his life.[60]

RODOLPH GUALTER was born at Zurich, according to some, in 1519, or according to others, in 1512. The proficiency he made in his studies, and his extraordinary

(58) M. Adami Vit. Germ. Theolog. pp. 91—97.
(59) M. Adami Vit. Germ. Theolog. pp. 402, 403.
Clarke's Bibliog. Dict. II. p. 15.
Clement, IV. p. 211.
(60) M. Adami Vit. Germ. Theolog. p. 96.
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, *Index. Auctor.* I.

abilities as a divine, occasioned his election as Antistes, or chief pastor, of his native city. He was the author of *Homilies* on several books of Scripture. After faithfully discharging his sacred and official functions for more than 40 years, he "rested from his labours" on the 25th of November, 1586. His son *Rodolph*, who died before him, at the age of twenty-five, had been chosen one of the ministers of Zurich, and had published several works of a religious nature.[61]

HENRY BULLINGER, who was a Swiss divine of great celebrity, was born at Bremgarten, a considerable town in Switzerland, in 1504. His first instructor was his father, a man eminent for his attachment to literature. At 12 years of age he was sent to pursue his studies at Embrick, where he continued 3 years. About this time, his father adopted a singular method of teaching him to feel for the necessities of others, by withholding from him, for a time, his usual pecuniary supplies, so that he was forced, according to the custom of those times, to subsist upon the alms obtained by singing from door to door. From Embrick he removed to Cologne, and employed himself in the study of logic, and scholastic philosophy, till 1520, when he proceeded bachelor of arts. Whilst at Cologne, he gained admittance to the library of the Dominicans, and eagerly read the works of Chrysostom, Augustin, Origen, and Ambrose; and meeting with several of Luther's publications, he attentively, but privately, read them; from these he was led to the Scriptures themselves, which he diligently perused, with the commentaries of Jerom and other Fathers upon them. By these means his mind gradually became averse from popery; and although he had at an early period resolved to enter the Carthusian order, he relinquished his design, and after taking his degree of master of arts, returned to his father's, and resided a year under the paternal roof.

(61) M. Adami Vit. Germ. Theolog. p. 592.

He was then called by Wolfgang Joner, abbot of Capella, to teach in his convent. In this situation, he explained the *Paraclesin* and *Compendium Theologiæ* of Erasmus, and the *Loci Communes* of Melancthon, but especially the books of the *New Testament*, in the German tongue; very few of the monks in that or the neighbouring monasteries understanding much of the Latin, notwithstanding the constant use of it in their religious services. On the death of Zuingle, who had favoured him with his confidence, he was chosen as his successor by the senate and the ecclesiastical synod. In this difficult and important situation, he conducted the affairs of the church with firmness and prudence. He enlarged the *Public Library* of Zurich, and persuaded the magistrates to establish a new *College*, instead of what had formerly been instituted. He steadily supported the Reformation, and was employed in many ecclesiastical negociations. At the request of certain English noblemen, he addressed two epistles to Henry VIII. king of England, the former *On the Authority, Certainty, Perpetuity and Perfection of Scripture*; the latter *On the Institution and Office of Bishops*. During the persecution of Queen Mary, he hospitably received many of the English divines, who had fled to avoid the cruelties exercised upon the protestants during her reign. On the publication of the Bull of excommunication fulminated by the pope against Queen Elizabeth, he wrote an able confutation of it, of which an English translation afterwards appeared. He died September 17th, 1575. He left behind him several sons and daughters; having, to his inexpressible grief, lost his wife, with whom he had lived happily 35 years, in 1564.[62]

Conrad Pellican was one of the most learned and eminent of the reformers. He was born at Ruffach, in Alsace, January 8th, 1478. His family name was *Kirsiner* or *Kirsner*, but the name *Pellican*, which means the same

(62) M. Adami Vit. Germ. Theolog. pp. 476—507.

thing in Latin as *Kirsner*, in German, was given him, agreeably to a practice then frequent, by his maternal uncle. He commenced his studies at Ruffach, in 1484, under Stephen Kleger, an excellent master; who inspired him with a love of literature, notwithstanding considerable obstacles presented themselves, chiefly arising from the want of elementary books, being obliged to write down every thing taught him, printing then being in its infancy, and such works as were necessary for him not to be obtained. In 1491, he was invited to Heidelberg, by his maternal uncle, Jodocus Gallus; but after sixteen months returned to his parents, probably because his uncle could no longer afford to maintain him. After his return home, he became assistant to a schoolmaster, and was permitted to have the loan of books from the library of the Franciscan convent. His frequent and literary intercourse with the monks, led to his entering into that order, in January 1493, though against the consent of his relations. He then engaged in theological studies, and the following year was admitted Subdeacon. In 1499, meeting with Paul Pfedersheimer, a converted Jew, who had entered the same order as himself, he expresed his wish to learn *Hebrew*, which he assured him he had desired from a child, in consequence of hearing a disputation betwixt a Christian doctor and a Jew. Pfedersheimer offered his assistance, and Pellican by this means obtained the elementary part of that language. He received further instructions from Reuchlin, and by indefatigable perseverance acquired such knowledge of it as to be accounted, after Reuchlin, the first Hebrew scholar in Germany. Yet such was his poverty, and the rarity of learned works, that when a bookseller had procured a copy of the *Hebrew Bible*, printed in a small size at Pisaro, in Italy, in 1494, it was with difficulty he raised a *florin and a half* to purchase it; and he informed Lewis Lavater, that before the preaching of Luther, "a single copy of

the *Greek Testament* was not to be found in all Germany, though a man should have offered to give for it its weight in gold." Charity, the learned abbess of St. Clare, and sister of Pirckheimer, made him, therefore, a most acceptable present, by giving him the *Hebrew Pentateuch* with the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, which he was too poor to purchase.

In 1501, he was ordained priest, and the following year was appointed to teach theology in the convent of his order at Basil, where he likewise gave lectures on philosophy and astronomy. In 1508, he was sent to Ruffach to teach the same branches, and had Sebastian Munster for one of his pupils in Hebrew and astronomy. In 1511, he was chosen guardian of the convent of Pfortzheim; and in 1514, Caspar Sazger, provincial of his order, engaged him as his secretary. The journeys which he took with the provincial, in his official capacity, afforded him peculiar opportunities of conversing with the learned of his time, and of examining the most eminent libraries belonging to his order. These advantages he studiously improved; and largely increased his stock of oriental and Biblical literature, to which he now chiefly directed his attention. After his return from one of his journeys, he stopped three months at Basil, to superintend a *Polyglott Psalter*, then printing by Froben.

Pellican having begun to read the works of Luther, and sometimes to deliver sentiments favourable to the doctrines contained in them, the professors at Basil accused him of Lutheranism to the provincial, who would have deposed him, but for the interposition of the Senate, who declared that if he obliged Pellican and his friends to leave the city for this cause, they would send every one of the order after them. Sazger took the hint, and left Basil, and Oecolampadius and Pellican were elected professors. He continued professor at Basil, until 1526, when at the earnest request of Zuingle and the senate

of Zurich, he accepted the situation of professor of Hebrew in that city. He soon afterwards threw off the monastic habit, and entered into the married state. After the death of his wife, which happened in 1536, he, by the advice of his friends, married a second time, in the course of the following year.

In 1538, he, for several months, hospitably entertained and assisted Michael Adam, a converted Jew, who was engaged with Leo Judæ in a revision of the *German* Bible. His skill in the languages, and critical talents, rendered his services of high consideration in this and every occurrence connected with his important situation of Hebrew professor, which he continued to fill with singular ability until his decease, April 1st, 1556.[63] Beside rendering assistance to the translators of the *Zurich Bible*, he revised an edition of the *Greek Testament*, printed by Bebelius, Basil, 1524, 8vo. in which he assumed the name of *Cephorinus*; he also translated certain of the *Chaldee Paraphrases* or *Targums*, into Latin; and was engaged as the editor of Augustin's Works, published by Amerbach in 1506, in 9 vols. folio. He likewise left Latin *Commentaries on all the books of the Old and New Testament*, except *Jonah*, *Zechariah*, and the *Revelation*, published at different times, from 1532 to 1540, in 7 vols. folio; in which he considerably amended the Vulgate translation. His small copy of the Hebrew Bible is still preserved in the Caroline Library at Zurich.[64]

A translation of the BIBLE was also made into the HELVETIAN, or GERMAN-SWISS dialect, and printed at Zurich, the *New Testament* in 1524, the first part of the *Old Testament*, in 1525, and the rest with the *Apocrypha*, in 1529, accompanied with prefaces and marginal

(63) M. Adami Vit. Germ. Theolog. pp. 262—299.
Chalmers' Gen. Biog. Dict. XXIV. pp. 273—276.

(64) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. I. pp. 204. 280. 289. 300. 304, 305; and edit. Masch, pt. i. cap. i. sec. 1, pp. 11, 12.
Walchii Biblioth. Theolog. IV. p. 412.

notes, forming 3 vols. folio. The principal translator was LEO JUDÆ, assisted by the other ministers of Zurich.[65]

As minor, but valuable attempts to render the vernacular translations more correct, and worthy the public attention, the *German* versions of OTMAR and LONICER, Lutherans, claim regard. SILVANUS OTMAR, a German, published a translation of the NEW TESTAMENT, about A. D. 1535, 8vo. JOHN ADAM LONICER, a German, also published a translation of the NEW TESTAMENT, in his native tongue, A. D. 1590; printed at Franckfort, in octavo.[66]

(65) Le Long, I. p. 399.
Marsh's Hist. of Translations, &c. p. 4.
(66) Le Long, I. p. 395. Paris, 1723, fol.

CHAPTER V.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY CONTINUED.

Henry VIII. Tyndall. English New Testament. Popery abolished in England. English Versions. Coverdale. Progress of the Reformation. Lyndsay's Poetical Defence of Vernacular Translations. Reformation in Scotland. French Versions. Olivetan. Calvin. Marot's Psalms. Robert Stephens. Faculty of Theology at Paris. Servetus. Spain. Loyola. Jesuits. Spanish Versions. Italian Versions. Brucioli Marmochino. Hebrew Scriptures. Bomberg. Editions of Scripture enumerated by Panzer.

THE Reformation soon extended its influence to ENGLAND, and the works of Luther, Melancthon, and other reformers, were eagerly read and circulated by those who were able to procure them. Translations were also made of such writings as were favourable to similar opinions; amongst these, Erasmus's *Treatise upon the Pater Noster*, printed by *Wynkyn de Worde*, 1524, 4to. deserves particular notice, being "tourned into English, by a young, vertuous, and well lerned gentlewoman, of nineteen yere of age;" and demonstrating the prevalent feeling of the nation.[1] To counteract this inclination of his subjects to heretical sentiments, Henry VIII. entered the list against Martin Luther, by writing and publishing a book, *De Septem Sacramentis*, "Of the Seven Sacraments;" for which Pope Leo X. bestowed upon the royal controversialist, the title of *Defender of the Faith.* But neither the lustre of Henry's crown, nor

(1) Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, II. p. 243.

the acclamations of the admirers of the royal performance, intimidated the intrepid German, who replied to the treatise in terms of unbecoming severity, followed by a letter, acknowledging the virulence of the terms employed. Luther's reply was succeeded by epistolary answers from the king, whose zeal had been inflamed by the honours he had received from the papal head of the church. These epistolary replies, originally written in Latin, were afterwards translated, and printed by Richard Pynson, his Majesty's printer. In the last of his epistles, dated 1527, speaking of one of Luther's publications, he says; "In whiche he fayneth himself to be enformed, that, we be tourned to the favoure of his secte. And with many flatterying wordes he laboreth to have us content that he myght be bolde to write to us in the mater and cause of the gospell: And thereupon without answere had from us, nat onely publysshed the same letter and put it in print, of purpose that his adherentes shulde be the bolder, under the shadowe of our favour, but also fell in devyce with one or two lewde persons, borne in this our realme, for the translatyng of the Newe Testaments into Englysshe, as well with many corruptions of that holy text, as certayne prefaces, and other pestylent Gloses in the margentes, for the advauncement and settyng forthe of his abhomynable heresyes, entendynge to abuse the gode myndes and devotion that you oure derely beloved people beare, towarde the holy scrypture, and enfect you with the deedly corruption and contagious odour of his pestylent errours. In the advoydynge whereof we of our especialls tendre zele towards you, have with the deliberate advyse of the moste reverende father in god, Thomas lorde Cardynall, legate de Latere of the see apostolyke, archebysshop of Yorke, primate and our chancellour of this realme, and other reverende fathers of the spiritualtye, determyned the sayd and untrue translatyons to be brenned, with further sharpe correction

and punysshment against the kepars and redars of the same, rekenyng of your wysdomes very sure that ye wyll well and thankfully parceyve our tendre and loving mynde towarde you therin, and that ye will never be so gredy uppon any swete wyne, be the grape never so pleasaunt, that ye will desyre to taste it, being well advertised yt. your enemy before hath poysoned it."[2]

The ENGLISH translation of the NEW TESTAMENT to which the king refers, was one which had been lately translated from the *Greek*, by WILLIAM TYNDALE, or TYNDALL, an Englishman, and printed in 1526, 12mo. without the name of the translator or printer, or of the place where printed, though it was probably printed at Antwerp, where Tyndall then resided. Of this edition only 1500 copies were printed, most of which were purchased at the request of Cuthbert Tonstall, bishop of London, by Augustin Packington, an English merchant, and by the bishop committed to the flames. Tyndall's assistants in the work of translation were JOHN FRY, or FRYTH, and WILLIAM ROYE; the former of whom was one of the learned students of Cambridge, chosen by Cardinal Wolsey, for his new college at Oxford, called Frideswide, now Christ Church, and afterwards burnt in Smithfield for heresy, July 1533;* and the latter suffered a similar death in Portugal, on the same occasion. The purchase of the chief part of the impression by Bishop Tonstall, and the ecclesiastical commissions issued by him and Archbishop Warham, by which all persons were required, under pain of excommunication, to deliver up the copies of this translation, rendered them so rare, that the only one supposed to exist, is that which is preserved in the Baptist's library, at Bristol. Of this copy Mr. Beloe, in his "*Anecdotes of Literature and*

2) Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, II. p. 489.

* A most interesting account of this worthy martyr may be found in Fox's *Actes and Monumentes*, II. pp. 303—310. Lond. 1641, fol.

Scarce Books," has furnished the following curious information: "It is in duodecimo, and is lettered on the back, 'New Testament by Tyndall, first edition, 1526.' It has no title page. There is a portrait pasted to the first leaf.* On the opposite leaf is a printed paper which says, that 'On Tuesday evening, (13th of May, 1760,) at Mr. Langford's sale of Mr. Ames's books, a copy of the translation of the New Testament, by Tyndall, and supposed to be the only one remaining which escaped the flames, was sold for fourteen guineas and a half. This very book was picked up by one of the late Lord Oxford's collectors,' (John Murray, written in the margin,) and was esteemed so valuable a purchase by his lordship, that he settled £20. a year for life, upon the person who procured it. His lordship's library being afterwards purchased by Mr. Osburne, of Gray's Inn, he marked it at 15 shillings, for which price Mr. Ames bought it. This translation was finished in the reign of Henry VIII. an. 1526, and the whole impression, as supposed, (this copy excepted,) was purchased by Tonstall, bishop of London, and burnt at St. Paul's cross, that year.' On the other side of the leaf, in MS. is this, 'N. B. This choice book was purchased at Mr. Langford's sale, 13th May, 1760, by me, John White, and on the 13th day of May, 1776, I sold it to the Rev. Dr. Gifford, for 20 guineas, the price first paid for it by the late Lord Oxford.' Then follows a print of the Earl of Oxford, formerly the owner of the book, who died in 1741. At the end of the book is the following note in MS. by J. Ames. 'This singular English translation of the New Testament appears perfect to a person understanding printing, although it bears no date, which many books about that time wanted also, the subject at that time so dangerous to meddle with. The place where printed is generally supposed to be Antwerpe, where per-

* This portrait appears, from the inscription copied by Mr. B. to be John Murray, of Sacomb..

sons in those days had the press, and greater liberties than in their own countries. The manner in which this book is done *show* it very early, as the illuminating of the great or initial letters, early used in the finest of our old MSS. when they had a set of men called illuminators, for such purposes. Besides, the marginal notes being done with the pen, which were afterwards printed, show it prior to others printed with them. The person who did it *show* a fine free hand scarce now to be exceeded. 'These considerations put together, incline me to subscribe to this being the first printed edition of the English N. Testament. J. Ames.' Underneath this is written, 'And what puts it out of all doubt that it is prior to all other editions, are his own words, in the second page of his address *to the reader*. A. Gifford, Sept. 11, 1776.' The address 'to the Reder,' alluded to here, is at the conclusion of the book. It is to this effect, 'Them that are learned christenly, I beseeche for as moche as I am sure, and my conscience beareth me recorde, that of a pure entent, singilly and faythfully, I have interpreted itt, (the Gospel,) as farre forth as God gave me the gyffte of knowledge and understondynge, so that the rudness of the worke now at the *first tyme* offende them not: but that they consyder howe that I had no man to counterfet, neither was holpe with englysshe of any that had interpreted the same, or soche lyke thinge in the Scripture before tyme, &c.' After this follow, 'the errours committed in the prentynge."[3]

The opinion of Dr. Geddes, a late Roman catholic translator and critic, respecting Tyndall's translation, deserves the meed of praise for its candour and correctness: "It was far from being a perfect translation, it is true," says he, "but it was the first of the kind; and few first translations will, I think, be found preferable to it. It is astonishing how little obsolete the language of it is,

(3) Belue's Anecdotes of Literature, &c. III. pp. 52—57.

even at this day; and, in point of perspicuity, and noble simplicity, propriety of idiom, and purity of style, no English version has yet surpassed it. The criticisms of those who wrote against it, (we are sorry to find Sir Thomas More among them,) are generally too severe, often captious, and sometimes evidently unjust."[4]

The following specimen of this translation, with the *Gloss* upon it, from an early, but imperfect copy now before me, will enable the reader to judge of its excellence:

Matthew, chap. v.

Ye haue herde, how it is sayde: thou shalt loue thyne neghboure, and hate thine enemy. But I saye unto you: loue youre enemies; Blesse them that curse you: Do good to them that hate you: Praye for them which do you wronge and persecute you, that ye maye be the chyldren of youre father which is in heaben; for he maketh his sonne to aryse on the euel and on the good, and sendeth his rayne on the just and unjust. For yf ye loue them which loue you, what rewarde shall ye haue? Do not the ☞ Publicans euen so? And yf ye be frendly to your brethren only; what singular thing do ye? Do not the Publicans also like wyse; ye shall therefore be perfecte euen as youre father in heauen is perfecte.

¶ Glose vpon the v. chapter.

☞ (Publicans,) were such men as the Romaynes set to gather theyr tolles and customes, and the sayme were for the moost parte ungodlye heythen.

Acts, chap. xx.

Wherefore I take you to recorde this day that I am pure from the bloude of all men. For I haue

(4) Geddes's Prospectus, pp 88, 89.

kepte no thynge backe, but haue shewed you all the counsell of God. Take hede therfore vnto yourselues, and to all the flocke: amongst the which the holy goost hath set you to be Bishoppes, to fede the congregacion of God, which he hath purchased thorow his owne bloude.'

The following noble testimony to the integrity of Tyndall, and to his fidelity in translating, is given by his friend and companion John Fryth the martyr, in his answer to Sir Thomas More: "And Tyndall, I trust, liveth well content with such a poor apostle's life, as God gave his Son Christ, and his faithful ministers in this world, which is not sure of so many mites, as ye be yearly of pounds, although I am sure for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted, than all the bishops in England. I received a letter from him, which was written since Christmas, wherein among other matters he writeth this: 'I CALL GOD TO RECORD AGAINST THE DAY WE SHALL APPEAR BEFORE OUR LORD JESUS, TO GIVE A RECKONING OF OUR DOINGS, THAT I NEVER ALTERED ONE SYLLABLE OF GOD'S WORD AGAINST MY CONSCIENCE, NOR WOULD DO THIS DAY, IF ALL THAT IS IN EARTH, WHETHER IT BE HONOUR, PLEASURE, OR RICHES, MIGHT BE GIVEN ME. MOREOVER, I TAKE GOD TO WITNESS TO MY CONSCIENCE, THAT I DESIRE OF GOD TO MYSELF IN THIS WORLD, NO MORE THAN THAT, WITHOUT WHICH I CANNOT KEEP HIS LAWS.' Judge, Christian reader, whether these words be not spoken of a faithful, clear, innocent, heart. And as for his behaviour, it is such, that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin, howbeit, no man is innocent before God, which beholdeth the heart."[5]

The Dutch printers quickly pirated Tyndall's New Testament, and accordingly an edition was published by

(5) Fox, II. p. 367.

them in a small form, in 1527, and the year following, another. These two impressions consisted of 5000 copies, and were sold by the Dutch booksellers at the rate of *thirteen pence* a piece, or 300 for £16. 5s. In England they were sold singly for about *half a crown*. Tyndall's own edition was sold at about three shillings and six pence per volume; GEORGE JOYE, an English refugee, who corrected the Dutch editions, received only 4½d. a sheet, or 14s. for the whole of his labour.[6]

The English bishops exerted all their influence to prevent the importation and circulation of Tyndall's translation. Severe proclamations were issued by the king, at the requisition of the clergy, against all who read it, or had it, in possession. Humphry Monmouth, who supported Tyndall abroad, was imprisoned in the tower; and though a man of wealth, was almost reduced to ruin. Penance was enjoined to Thomas Patmore, and to the author's brother, John Tyndall, on suspicion of importing and concealing these books; and Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor, adjudged, "that they should ride with their faces to the tails of their horses, having papers on their heads, and the *New Testaments*, and other books which they had dispersed, hung about their cloaks; and at the standard, at Cheapside, should themselves throw them into a fire, prepared for the purpose; and that they should afterwards be fined at the king's pleasure. The fine set upon them was £18,840. 0s. 10d. The learned chancellor was also induced, by the great patrons of popery, to employ his pen against the translator, and the translation. In the year 1530, or 1531, a royal proclamation was issued for totally suppressing this translation, which was pretended to be full of heresies and errors; and holding out the expectation that another and more faithful translation should be prepared and publish-

(6) Lewis's Hist. of English Translations of the Bible, pp. 67. 80. 83.

ed.[7] Dr. Stokesley, bishop of London, who in the month of May, 1531, caused all the New Testaments of Tyndall, and many other books which he had bought up, to be brought to St. Paul's church-yard, and there burnt, was one of the most cruel persecutors among the prelates of his time. Fox has entered into a long detail of those who suffered in his diocese: from him we extract the following particulars of the charges laid against several who were imprisoned, and compelled to abjure.

"John Raimund, a Dutchman, 1528."

"For causing 1500 of Tindal's New Testaments to be printed at Antwerpe, and for bringing 500 into England."

"Thomas Curson, monke of Bastacre, in Northfolke, 1530."

"His articles were these: For going out of the monastery, and changing his weede, and letting his crowne to grow, working abroad for his living, making copes and vestiments. Also, for having the *New Testament* of Tindal's translation, and another booke containing certaine bookes of the *Old Testament*, translated into English, by certain whom the papists call Lutherans."

"John Row, book-binder, a Frenchman, 1531."

"This man, for binding, buying, and dispersing of bookes inhibited, was enjoined beside other penance, to goe to Smithfield with his books tied about him, and to cast them in the fire, and there to abide till they were all burnt to ashes."

"Christopher, a Dutchman of Antwerp, 1531."

"This man for selling certaine *New Testaments*, in *English*, to John Row aforesaid, was put in prison, at Westminster, and there died."

"W. Nelson, priest, 1531."

"His crime was, for having, and buying, of Periman,

(7) Newcome's Historical View of the English Biblical Translations, pp. 20—22. Dublin, 1792, 8vo.
Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, B. vi. ch. ii. sec. 2, p. 59.
Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, I. B. i. ch. xxi. p. 116.

certaine bookes of Luther, Tindal, Thorpe, &c. and for reading and perusing the same contrary to the king's proclamation, for the which he was abjured. He was priest at Lith."

"Edward Hewet, servingman, 1531."

"His crime: That after the king's proclamation, he had read the *New Testament* in *English:* also the booke of John Frith against Purgatory, &c."

"Walter Kiry, servant, 1531."

"His article: That he, after the king's proclamation, had and used these bookes: the *Testament* in *English*, the Summe of Scripture, a *Primer* and *Psalter* in *English,* hidden in his bedstraw at Worcester."

"John Mel, of Bockstead, 1532."

"His heresy was this: for having and reading the *New Testament,* in *English,* the *Psalter,* in *English,* and the book called A, B, C."[8]

In the mean time Tyndall was busy in translating the PENTATEUCH, or Five Books of Moses, from the Hebrew. But having finished his translation, and going to Hamburgh to print it, the vessel in which he sailed was shipwrecked, and his papers lost, so that he was obliged to recommence his labour; in which he was assisted by MYLES COVERDALE, and at length, in 1530, published it in a small octavo. It seems to have been printed at several presses, owing to the danger accompanying it. *Genesis,* and *Numbers,* are printed in the Dutch letter, the other three books, *Exodus, Levitici,* and *Deuteronomie,* are printed in the Roman letter, with now and then a capital of the black letter intermixed. To each of the books, a prologue is prefixed, and at the end of Exodus and Deuteronomie are "Tables expounding certaine wordes." In the margin are some notes; and the whole

(8) Fox, II. pp. 315—322.
Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, I. p. 116.

is ornamented with 10 wood-cuts. In some copies there is added at the end, "*Emprinted at* Malborow *in the land of* Hesse *by me* Hans Luft *the yere of our Lord* M.C.C.C.C.C.X.X.X. *the* xvii *daye of* January."[9]

About 1531, Tyndall translated and published the Prophecy of "JONAS," to which he prefixed a prologue, full of invective against the church of Rome. Strype says, that Tyndall, before his death, finished all the Bible except the Apocrypha; but Bishop Newcome thinks he translated the historical parts only. Hall says in his Chronicle, which was printed during the reign of Henry VIII. by Richard Grafton, Tyndall's friend and benefactor; "William Tindall translated the New Testament, and first put it into print; and he likewise translated the five books of Moses, Joshua, Judicum, Ruth, the books of Kings, and books of Paralipomenon, Nehemiah, and the first of Esdras, and the prophet Jonas: and no more of the holy Scriptures." [67] But whatever he left behind him in manuscript, he appears only to have printed or published the prophecy of Jonah.

Fuller, in his *Church History*, has intimated the incompetency of Tyndall to translate the *Old Testament*, by saying "His skill in *Hebrew* was not considerable." It, however, is but just to let our translator speak in his own defence, and it is probable that the scholar who reads his preface or prologue prefixed to his 2nd edition of the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, will pronounce him "considerably" versed in the peculiarities of that tongue. The passage referred to begins thus: "If ought seme chaunged, or not altogether agreeing with the *Greeke*, let the finder of the faute consider the *Hebrue* phrase, or manner of speache left in the *Greeke* wordes, whose preterperfectense and presentence is of both one, and the futuretence is the optative mode also, and the futuretence

(9) Lewis, pp. 70, 71.
(10) Newcome, pp. 23, 24.

oft the imperative mode in the active voyce, and in the passive ever. Likewise person for person, number for number, and interrogation for a conditionall, and such lyke is with the Hebrúes a common vsage"[11]

Tyndall also revised and prepared a *second* edition of his *New Testament* for the press, which was afterwards printed at Antwerp, by "Marten Emperour," in 1534, 8vo.; but before the printing was quite finished Tyndall was betrayed, and in the end suffered martyrdom. A singularly beautiful copy upon *Vellum*, of the revised edition of Tyndall's New Testament, is in the Cracherode Collection, now in the British Museum. It belonged to the unfortunate "ANNE BOLEYN, when she was queen of England, as we learn from her name in large red letters, equally divided on the fore-edges of the top, side, and bottom margins; thus at the top ANNA; on the right margin fore-edge REGINA; at the bottom ANGLIÆ. The illumination of the frontispiece is also in very fair condition." It is bound in one thick volume in blue morocco.[12] In his history every lover of the Bible must feel interested, and to such the following brief sketch may afford some gratification.

WILLIAM TYNDALL, TYNDALE, or TINDALE, who also bore the name of HITCHENS, was born in 1500, about the borders of Wales, and from a child brought up at the university of Oxford. Here he acquired the knowledge of the languages, and liberal arts, and read lectures, privately, on divinity, especially on the Scriptures, to the junior fellows and other scholars of Magdalen College. At the same time, his behaviour was such, as gained him a high reputation for learning and morals, so that he was admitted a canon of Cardinal Wolsey's new college, now

(11) Newcome, p. 25.
Tyndall's Works, p. 32. Lond. 1573, fol.

(12) Lewis, p. 85.
Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron, II. p. 370.

Christ Church. His religious opinions rendering it unsafe for him to continue in Oxford, he retired to Cambridge, where he took a degree. After some time, he left the university, and lived at Little Sudbury, in Gloucestershire, with Sir John Welch, knt. who greatly esteemed him, and appointed him tutor to his children. Beside preaching frequently in and about Bristol, he engaged in disputation with many abbots and dignified clergymen, who were accustomed to visit Sir John, on the most important subjects of religion, proving and defending his positions by references to the Holy Scriptures. Unable to confute him, they complained to the chancellor of the diocese, who after using the most reproachful language, dismissed him with the most severe threatenings. In the preface to his translation of the Pentateuch, he gives a a curious account of the combinations of the priests against him, and of their assembling together in "ale houses" to discuss the doctrines which he taught, though, as he observes, they "had seen no more Latin, than that only which they read in their portasses and missals, which yet many of them could scarcely read." Whilst he remained at the house of Sir John Welch, he had a dispute with a certain learned divine, respecting the doctrines which he had embraced. During the debate Tyndall pressed his antagonist with such cogency of argument, drawn from the Holy Scriptures, that the doctor passionately exclaimed, "We were better to be without God's laws than the Pope's;" to which Tyndall, with indignant zeal, replied, "I defy the pope and all his laws;" and further added, "that if God spared him life, ere many years, he would cause the plough boy to know more of Scripture than he did."

Finding his situation unsafe, he removed to London, and for some time preached in the church of St. Dunstan's in the West. While here, he applied to Dr. Cuthbert Tonstall, bishop of London, to become one of his

chaplains, but without success, notwithstanding Sir Henry Guildford, master of the horse, and controller to King Henry VIII. who was the friend of Sir John Welch, and a great patron of learned men, used his influence with the bishop in behalf of Tyndall, who had presented to him an oration of Isocrates, translated from the Greek, as a proof of his learning at a time when Greek was understood by very few even of the learned in England. After this unsuccessful application to Bishop Tunstall, he resided for half a year in the house of Mr. HUMPHREY MONMOUTH, a wealthy citizen of London;* and then

* The account which Fox gives of this generous patron of Tyndall, is so interesting, notwithstanding its antiquated style, that the insertion of it will need no apology. "Master HUMFREY MUMMUTH was a right godly and sincere alderman of London, who, in the dayes of Cardinall Wolsey, was troubled and put in the tower, for the Gospell of Christ, and for maintaining them that favoured the same."

"Stockesley, then bishop of London, ministred articles unto him to the number of foure and twentie; as for adhering to Luther and his opinions; for having and reading hereticall bookes and treatises; for giving exhibition to William Tindall, Roy, and such other; for helping them over the sea to Luther; for ministring prime helpe to translate, as well the Testament, as other bookes into English; for eating flesh in Lent; for affirming faith onely to justifie; for derogating from men's constitutions; for not praying to saints, not allowing pilgrimage, auricular confession, the pope's pardons; briefely, for being an advancer of all Martin Luther's opinions, &c."

"Hee being of these articles examined, and cast into the tower, at last was compelled to make his sute or purgation, writing to the Cardinall, [Wolsey,] then lord chancellor, and the whole councell, out of the Tower. In the contents whereof he answered to the criminous accusation of them which charged him with certaine bookes received from beyond the sea; also for his acquaintance with master Tindall. Whereupon he said, that he denied not, but that foure yeares then past hee had heard the said Tindall preach two or three sermons at Saint Dunstan's in the West, and afterward meeting with the said Tindall, had certaine communication with him concerning his living: who then told him that he had none at all, but trusted to be in the bishop of London his service; for then hee laboured to be his chaplaine. But being refused of the bishop, hee came again to the said Mummuth this examinate, and besoughte him to helpe him. Who the same time tooke him into his house for halfe a yeare: where the said Tindall lived (as he said) like a good priest, studying both night and day. He would eat but sodden meat by his good will, nor drinke but small single beare. He was never seen in that house to weare linnen about him, all the space of his being there. Whereupon the

went abroad, in order to accomplish with more safety his great design of translating the NEW TESTAMENT into English. He first visited Saxony, where he held confer-

said Mummuth had the better liking of him, so that he promised him *ten pound*, (as he then said,) for his father's and mother's soules, and all Christian soules; which money, afterward, he sent him over to Hamborow, according to his promise. And yet, not to him alone hee gave his exhibition, but to divers other moe likewise which were no heretikes: as, to Doctor Royston, the bishop of London's chaplaine, hee exhibited fortie or fiftie pounds; to Doctor Wodihall, provinciall of the frier Augustins, as much, or more; to Doctor Watson, the king's chaplaine; also to other schollers, and divers priests; besides other charges bestowed upon religious houses, as upon the nunnerie of Denney, above fiftie pounds sterling bestowed, &c."

"And as touching his bookes, as *Enchiridion*, the *Pater Noster*, *De Libertate Christiana*, an *English Testament*, of which, some William Tindall left with him, some hee sent unto him, some were brought into his house, by whom he could not tell; these bookes, hee said, did lie open in his house, the space of two yeares together, he suspecting no harme to be in them. And, moreover, the same bookes being desired of sundry persons, as of the abbesse of Denney, a frier of Greenewich, the father confessor of Sion, he let them have them, and yet he never heard frier, priest, or layman find any fault with the said books. Likewise to Doctor Watson, to Doctor Stockhouse, Master Martin, parson of Totingbecke, he committed the perusing of the bookes of *Pater Noster*, and *De Libertate Christiana*, which found no great fault in them, but only in the booke *De Libertate Christiana*, they said there were things somewhat hard, except the reader were wise."

"Thus he excusing himselfe, and moreover complaining of the losse of his credit by his imprisonment in the tower, and of the detriments of his occupying, who was wont yeerly to ship over five hundred clothes to strangers, and set many clothiers aworke in Suffolke, and in other places, of whom he bought all their clothes, which were now almost all undone; by this reason, at length, he was set at libertie, being forced to abjure, and after was made knight by the king, and sheriffe of London."

"Of this Humfrey Mummuth we read of a notable example of Christian patience, in the sermons of Mr. Latimer, which the said Latimer heard in Cambridge, of Master George Stafford, reader of the divinitie lecture in that universitie. Who, expounding the place of St. Paul to the Romans, that we shall overcome our enemie with well doing, and so heape hot coles upon his head, &c. brought in an example, saying, that he knew in London, a great rich merchant, (meaning this Humfrey Mummuth,) which had a very poore neighbour: yet, for all his povertie he loved him very well, and lent him money at his need, and let him come to his table whensoever he would. It was even at that time when Doctor Collet was in trouble, and should have beene burnt, if God had not turned the king's heart to the contrary. Now the rich man began to be a Scripture man, he began to smell the Gospel. The poore man

ences with Luther and other learned reformers, and then returned to the Netherlands, and settled at Antwerp, where there was a very considerable factory of English merchants, many of whom were very zealous adherents to Luther's doctrine. Here he engaged in his translation of the NEW TESTAMENT, and afterwards of the PENTATEUCH, and the prophecy of JONAH; and probably of other parts of the Old Testament. In 1503, he sailed for Hamburgh, intending there to print his translation of the Pentateuch; but the vessel being wrecked, he lost all his money, books, writings, and copies, and arriving at Hamburgh was obliged to begin the translation anew, which, with the assistance of Miles Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, who had escaped from the fury of persecution, he soon completed; and then returned to his former residence at Antwerp. Whilst at Hamburgh, he lodged in the house of Mrs. Margaret Van Emmerson, a respectable and liberal lady. At Antwerp he resided with

---

was a papist still. It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of the Gospell, sitting at his table, where he reproved popery and such kinde of things; the poore man being there present, tooke a great displeasure against the rich man, insomuch that he would come no more to his house; he would borrow no more money of him as he was wont to doe before times, yea, and conceived such hatred and malice against him, that he went and accused him before the bishops. Now the rich man not knowing of any such displeasure, offered many times to talke with him, and to set him at quiet. It would not be. The poore man had such a stomacke, that he would not vouchsafe to speake with him. If hee met the rich man in the streete, he would go out of his way. One time it happened that hee met him so in a narrow street, that he could not avoyd but come neere him; yet, for all this, the poore man (I say,) had such a stomacke against the rich man, that hee was minded to go forward, and not to speake with him. The rich man perceiving that, caught him by the hand, and asked him, saying, 'Neighbour, what is come into your heart to take such displeasure with me? What have I done against you? Tell mee, and I will bee readie at all times to make you amends.' Finally, hee spake so gently, so charitably, so lovingly, and friendly, that it wrought so in the poore man's heart, that by and by, he fell downe upon his knees, and asked him forgiveness. The rich man forgave him, and so tooke him againe to his favour, and they loved as well as ever they did afore."—FOX'S *Actes and Monumentes*, II. pp. 257, 258.

Thomas Pointz, an Englishman, who entertained a cordial friendship for him, and in the end suffered imprisonment on his account.

The English translations by Tyndall, as well as his defence of them in answer to Sir Thomas More's "Dyalogue," and his other works, being extensively circulated in England, Henry VIII. and his council, among whom Sir Thomas More appears to have borne a principal part, employed one Henry Philips to betray him. This base wretch went over to Antwerp, insinuated himself into his friendship, and then by an act of treachery decoyed him into the hands of the procurator-general of the emperor's court at Brussels, and other officers, by whom he was conveyed to the castle of Filford, or Villefort, and imprisoned, although the procurator declared that he was "*homo doctus, pius, et bonus*," a learned, pious, and good man. The English merchants addressed letters in favour of Tyndall to the court of Brussels, and others were obtained from Secretary Cromwell to the same court; but his release was prevented by the stratagems of Philips, who accused Pointz to the court, and thereby defeated the exertions of Tyndall's friends.

Pointz happily made his escape by night, but Tyndall was reserved for a more dreadful fate. Being brought to trial, he pleaded his own cause, but without effect, for he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburg; and being brought to the place of execution, he cried, "Lord! open the king of England's eyes." He was first strangled, and then burnt. This severe sentence was executed at the town of Filford, in 1536, after he had been in prison about a year and a half; during which time his exemplary life and conversation so far influenced the jailor and his daughter, and others of his family, that they are said to have embraced his opinions.

The traitor Philips is reported to have died a miserable

death, being worn out by the *Phthiriasis*, or pedicular distemper.[13]

Tyndall's principal theological and controversial tracts were collected together, and printed with the works of John Fryth, and Barnes, in one volume, fol. by John Day, 1572.

The rigour with which Henry VIII. pursued the excellent Tyndall and his followers, served to mark the inconsistency of that monarch's character, who, through the whole of his reign, distinguished himself, sometimes by the zeal with which he promoted Oriental and Biblical literature, and at other times by the cruel policy which he exercised against those who read and studied the Oracles of Truth. Just before his opposition to Tyndall, he had instituted, in 1530, the first Hebrew professorship, at Oxford, and appointed as professor, his chaplain, ROBERT WAKEFIELD, one of the most eminent Orientalists of the age, and who had previously been professor at Louvain, and taught Hebrew at Tubingen after the death of Reuchlin.

In 1524, this learned divine published an inaugural discourse, on the utility of the Arabic, Chaldee, and Hebrew tongues, *Oratio de laudibus et utilitate trium linguarum Arabicæ, Chaldaicæ, et Hebraicæ*, &c. 4to. The printer was Wynkyn de Worde, and the author complains, that he was obliged to omit his whole *third* part, because the printer had no Hebrew types. Some few Hebrew and Arabic characters, however, are introduced; but extremely rude, and evidently cut in wood. They are the *first* of the sort made use of in England. This great Orientalist was instrumental in preserving, at the dissolution of the monasteries, the Hebrew MSS. belonging to Ramsay Abbey, collected by Holbech, or Holbeach, one of the monks, in the reign of Henry IV.

(13) Fox's Actes and Monumentes, II. pp. 361—367. Chalmers' Gen. Biog. Dict. XXX. pp. 128—132.

and the Hebrew Lexicon, compiled by the same learned monk. Robert Wakefield was the author also of several other works, particularly a Latin *Paraphrase of the book of Ecclesiastes*," 4to.[14]

Robert Shirwood, another Englishman, who succeeded Wakefield as Oriental professor at Louvain, published, in 1523, a Latin translation from the Hebrew, of the book of Ecclesiastes, accompanied with short notes, chiefly from Rabbinical writers. It was printed at Antwerp, by William Vorstman, in 4to.[15]

Henry VIII. also established a Greek professorship at Oxford, and Hebrew and Greek professorships at Cambridge; and founded the colleges of Christ Church, at Oxford, and Trinity, at Cambridge. John Mallard was the *Orator Regius*, in this reign; and epistolary secretary to the king. He left a Latin *Elegiac Paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer*, dedicated to Henry; *Le premier livre de la cosmographie*, in verse; and a Latin *Psalter*, beautifully written by himself, for the use of the king. This elegant little MS. is in the royal collection in the British Museum, Biblioth. MSS. Reg. 2. A. xvi. Amongst the other illuminations it is adorned with two portraits, in miniature, and is still further an object of interest and curiosity, as it possesses in the margin a few notes in the hand-writing of Henry VIII.[16]

Henry chose for his Latin secretary, Richard Pace, who succeeded Dr. Colet, in the deanery of St. Paul's. He was a worthy man, as well as an excellent scholar; he learned languages with peculiar facility, and not only spoke several of the modern languages, but understood Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic. Having offended Cardi-

(14) Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. pt. ii. lib. iii. p. 465.
Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, II. p. 124, *note.*

(15) Le Long. edit. Masch, pt. ii. vol. III. cap. iii. sec. 1. p. 548.

(16) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, XII. B. vi. chap. iv. sec. iii. pp. 250. 252.
Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, II. p. 132, *note.*

nal Wolsey, he was sent prisoner to the tower; with which he was so much affected, that he became insane, and died in that state, in 1532.[17]

In 1533, popery was abolished in England, and Henry declared Head of the Church. Cranmer was also advanced the same year to the see of Canterbury. In the convocation of that province the following year, the two houses deputed his Grace to attend his majesty, with a petition "that the Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue, by some honest and learned men, to be nominated by the king, and that they should be delivered to the people, according to their learning;" though a clause was added, much less agreeable to the archbishop, praying his Majesty to order all his subjects "to deliver up all suspected books within three months." Burnet (Hist. Reform. vol. I. p. 195,) says, that the arguments for a new translation of the Bible, joined to the influence of Queen Anne Boleyn, caused the king to give orders for commencing the translation immediately; but that Bishop Gardiner, and all his party, opposed the measure, both in convocation, and in secret with the king. But Cranmer, who had the work at heart, determined, if possible, to expedite the business; and that the translation might not be prohibited, as others had been, under a pretext of ignorance, or unfaithfulness in the translators, "he proceeded," says Strype, "in this method. First he began with the translation of the New Testament; taking an old English translation thereof, which he divided into nine or ten parts; causing each part to be written at large, in a paper book, and then to be sent to the best learned bishops, and others; to the intent they should make a perfect correction thereof. And when they had done, he required them to send back their parts, so corrected, unto him, at Lambeth, by a day limited for that purpose: and the same course, no question, he took with

(17) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, XII. pp. 237, 238.

the Old Testament. It chanced that the Acts of the Apostles were sent to Bishop Stokesly, to oversee and correct. When the day came, every man had sent to Lambeth their parts corrected, only Stokesly's portion was wanting. My lord of Canterbury wrote to the bishop a letter, for his part, requiring him to deliver it unto the bringer, his secretary. He received the archbishop's letter at Fulham: unto which he made this answer; 'I marvel what my lord of Canterbury meaneth, that thus abuseth the people, in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures; which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour upon my portion, nor never will. And therefore my lord shall have this book again, for I will never be guilty of bringing the simple people into error.' My lord of Canterbury's servant took the book, and brought the same to Lambeth, unto my lord, declaring my lord of London's answer. When the archbishop had perceived that the bishop had done nothing therein, 'I marvel,' said he, 'that my lord of London is so froward, that he will not do as other men do.' One Mr. Thomas Lawney stood by; and, hearing my lord speak so much of the bishop's untowardness, said, I can tell your grace why my lord of London will not bestow any labour or pains this way. Your grace knoweth well, that his portion is a piece of New Testament. But he, being persuaded that Christ had bequeathed him nothing in his Testament, thought it mere madness to bestow any labour or pain, where no gain was to be gotten. And besides this, it is the Acts of the Apostles; which were simple poor fellows, and therefore my lord of London disdained to have to do with any of them. Whereat, my lord of Canterbury, and others that stood by, could not forbear from laughter. This Lawney was .... chaplain to the old Duke of Norfolk, and had been one of the scholars placed by the cardinal, in his new college at Oxon: where he was

chaplain of the house, and prisoner there with Frith, another of the scholars."[18] In consequence, however, of the opposition of the Romish clergy, or of other causes, the design of the good archbishop failed for the present.

In the mean time, translations were made of particular books of the Holy Scriptures, by private individuals, and printed at foreign presses. In 1530, an English translation of the *Psalms* was printed at Strasburg, by Francis Foye, in 12mo. with a preface by "JOHAN ALEPH;" and said to be "purely and faithfully translated after the text of *Feline*." By the text of *Feline* was meant the Latin version of MARTIN BUCER, published by him under the feigned name of *Aretius' Felinus*, Strasburg, 1526, fol.[19]

In 1534, GEORGE JOYE also published a translation of the PSALMS, from the Latin version of Friar Felix, of the order of the Hermits of St. Austin, first printed A. D. 1515, and again 1522. He had previously published an English translation of the Prophecy of ISAIAH, printed at Strasburg, A. D. 1530, by Balthasar Backneth, in 8vo. In 1534, he translated the Prophecy of JEREMIAH, which was printed in 8vo.[20]

GEORGE JOYE was a Bedfordshire man, and educated at St. Peter's college, Cambridge, of which he was admitted fellow in 1517. But being accused of heresy by the prior of Newnham, he was summoned, in 1527, to appear before the cardinal's court at Westminster, and the Bishop of Lincoln, but escaped by equivocation, and fled to Strasburg. He was afterwards employed by the Dutch printers, in correcting the pirated editions of Tyndall's

(18) Strype's Memorials of Archb. Cranmer, I. ch. viii. pp. 48, 49. Oxford, 1812, 8vo.
Newcome's Historical View of Eng. Bib. Translations, pp. 26—28.
Thomson and Orme's Historical Sketch of Translations and Circulation of Scriptures, p. 52.

(19) Lewis's Eng. Trans. pp. 86, 87.

(20) Lewis, pp. 78. 87, 88.

New Testament. At Strasburg he printed the "Priour of Bedford's Letter," which had occasioned his summons, together with his reply; and sent a copy of it to this friar of Newnham Abbey in Bedford. He also printed a piece of the "Unite and Schisme of the olde Cherche." Though a learned man, he does not appear to have possessed that conscientious integrity, which would have given Christian dignity to his character; and it is to be regretted that whilst he defended the "Truth," the "Truth" does not seem "to have made him free" from guile and deception.[21]

In 1535, the first translation of the *whole* Bible ever printed in English, was completed abroad, under the direction of Miles Coverdale, and therefore is generally called COVERDALE'S BIBLE. It is in folio, and was dedicated to Henry VIII. and is supposed to have been printed at Zurich. In the dedication, the translator honestly tells his majesty, that the pope gave him the title of *Defender of the Faith*, "only because his highness suffered his bishops to burne God's Word, the root of faith, and to persecute the lovers and ministers of it;" but at the same time intimates his conviction, that the title will prove a prophecy, "that by the righteous administration of his grace, the faith shall be so defended, that God's Word, the mother of faith, shall have its free course thorow all Christendome, but especially in his grace's realme." As to the translation itself, he says, "that it was neither his labour nor desire to have this work put into *his* hand, but that being *instantly required* to undertake it, and the Holy Ghost moving other men to do the cost thereof, he was the more bold to take it in hand." "According therefore as he was desired, he took the more upon him, he said, to set forth this *special translation*, not as a checker, reprover, or despiser of

(21) Lewis, pp. 79, 80.
Dyer's Hist. of the Universities of Cambridge, II. pp. 17, 18.

other men's translations, but lowly and faithfully following his interpreters, and that under correction. Of these, he said, he made use of *five* different ones, who had translated the Scriptures not only into *Latin*, but also into *Dutch*."

From the dedication also, it seems probable, that the translation was permitted to be read by the people; and the next year, 1536, a royal injunction was issued to the clergy to provide a book "of the *whole Bible*, both in *Laten*, and also in *English*, and lay the same in the quire for everye man that will to loke and reade theron," in every parish church; which was certainly equivalent to an express approbation of Coverdale's Bible, as there was no other at that time in English. Dr. Geddes says, of this translation, "From Genesis to the end of Chronicles, and the book of Jonah, are by Tyndal; the rest of the Old Testament by Coverdale. The whole New Testament is Tyndal's." But from the collation of Lewis, it is evident that Coverdale corrected Tyndall's translation. Fulke *(Defence of the E. T. of the Bible,)* relates, that "when Coverdale's translation was finished, and presented to Henry, he gave it to Bishop Gardiner and some others to examine. They kept it so long, that at last Henry had to call for it himself. When they delivered the book, he demanded their opinion of the translation. They answered, that there were many faults in it. "Well," said the king, "but are there any heresies mentioned in it?" They replied, "There were no heresies they could find." "If there be no heresies," said Henry, "then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people."[22]

Miles Coverdale was born in Yorkshire, about 1486, and became an Augustin monk. At the time when he

(22) Lewis, pp. 91—100. 103, 104.
Newcome, pp. 29—33.
Geddes's Prospectus, p. 88, *note.*
Thomson and Orme's Historical Sketch, p. 54, *note.*

published his translation of the Bible he was in exile for the sake of religion, having embraced the principles of the Reformation. Being permitted to return to England, he was made almoner to Catherine Parr, the last wife of Henry VIII. During the reign of Edward VI. he was promoted to the bishoprick of Exeter; but on the change of religion in Queen Mary's reign, he was deprived of his see, and thrown into prison, out of which he was released at the earnest request of the king of Denmark, and as a very great favour, was permitted to depart out of the kingdom. Soon after Elizabeth's accession to the throne, he returned from his exile, but would not accept of his bishoprick. The cause of his refusal was his attachment to the principles of the Puritans. Grindal, bishop of London, gave him the small living of St. Magnus, near London Bridge; but not complying with the terms of conformity then required, he was deprived of his living, became obnoxious to government, and died in indigence, May 20th, 1567, aged 81. Such was the fate of this eminent translator of the Scriptures;—a man universally esteemed for his piety, his Scriptural knowledge, and his diligence in preaching.[23]

About the same time that Coverdale's Bible was printed, THOMAS GIBSON, or GYBSON, a studious man, and a printer, published the *first English* CONCORDANCE of the NEW TESTAMENT. The title of it was, "The Concordance of the new testament most necessary to be had in the handes of all soche, as desire the communication of any place contayned in the new testament."—*Imprynted by me Thomas Gybson. Cum privilegio regali,* with the mark T. G. on the sides of a cut afterwards used by John Day. The epistle to the reader written by him, intimates his being the collector or compiler of the work.[24]

(23) Thomson and Orme's Historical Sketch, p. 53. Lempriere's Gen. Biog. Dict.

(24) Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, III. p. 400.

Another noted edition of the Bible, in English, was printed in 1537, in folio, and is usually called MATTHEWE'S BIBLE, from the name affixed to it, as the editor. It was printed abroad, at the expense of the English printers, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch; and was "SET FORTH WITH THE KING'S MOST GRACIOUS LICENCE." The name of THOMAS MATTHEWE is affixed to it as the editor; but this, it is said, was fictitious; and that the real editor was JOHN ROGERS, a native of Lancashire, the first martyr who suffered in Queen Mary's reign, being burnt at Smithfield, February 4th, 1555. Nicholls, however, states that Thomas Matthewe was prebendary of St. Paul's.[25]

Grafton, one of the publishers of this edition, having finished the work, sent *six copies* of it to Lord Cromwell, at his lordship's request, accompanying them with a letter, in which he complained, that after having printed 1500 copies at an expense of not less than £500. he was apprehensive of being undersold by the Dutch booksellers, who, observing how acceptable the English Bible was to the common people, were designing to print it in a smaller volume; and though he believed the editions which they would print would be very inferior in paper, type, and correctness, yet without his lordship's interposition, they would probably ruin him and his friends. He therefore entreated his lordship to obtain for him, from the king, "that none should print the Bible for three years but himself;" and urged the advantage that would result from enjoining every clergyman to have one, and placing a number of copies, six for instance, in every abbey.[26]

(25) Lewis, pp. 105. 111.
Newcome, pp. 34, 35.
Nicholls's Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer: *The Order how the Psalter is appointed to be read.*

(26) Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, I. B. i. ch. xv. pp. 84—86.

In the year 1538, the English Bible was permitted to be exposed to sale, and publicly read; and an injunction was published by the vicar general of the kingdom, "ordering the clergy to provide, before a certain festival, one book of the whole Bible, of the largest volume in English, and to set it up in some convenient place within their churches, where their parishioners might most commodiously resort to read it;" the expense of which was to be borne equally by the clergyman and the parishioners. A royal declaration was also issued, which the curates were to read in their respective churches, informing the people of the injunction to place it in the churches, and of the permission given to all to read it; with directions how to read and hear it, and advising them to avoid all disputes about the Scriptures in "taverns or alehouses," and rather to consult those who were authorized to preach and explain them. From which it would appear, that some persons made but an ill use of the liberty granted them, of hearing or reading the Scriptures in their native tongue; unless we suppose that the enemies to the general perusal of the Bible, had suggested the probability of such improper disputations; for the clergy in general were not favourable to the liberty granted to the people, and therefore read the injunction and declaration in such a manner, in their churches, that scarcely any one could understand what they read.[27]

But whether certain persons acted imprudently, by disputing about the Scriptures in alehouses, or not, it is certain, that the permission which was granted to the people to read them, created extraordinary joy. "It was wonderful," says Strype, "to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learneder sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the Reformation, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and

(27) Newcome, pp. 36, 37.
Strype, *ut sup.* vol. I. B. i. ch. xvii. p. 90.

common people; and with what greediness God's Word was read, and what resort to places where the reading of it was. Every body that could bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves; and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose. And even little boys flocked among the rest to hear portions of the Holy Scripture read. One William Maldon happening in the company of John Fox, in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and Fox being very inquisitive after those that suffered for religion in the former reigns, asked him, if he knew any that were persecuted for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, that he might add it to his Book of Martyrs; he told him, he knew one that was whipped by his own father in King Henry's reign for it. And when Fox was very inquisitive who he was, and what was his name, he confessed it was himself: and upon his desire he wrote out all the circumstances. Namely, that when the king had allowed the Bible to be set forth to be read in all churches, immediately several poor men in the town of Chelmsford, in Essex, where his father lived, and he was born, bought the New Testament, and on Sundays sat reading of it in the lower end of the church: many would flock about them to hear their reading; and he among the rest, being then but fifteen years old, came every Sunday to hear the glad and sweet tidings of the Gospel. But his father observing it, once angrily fetched him away, and would have him to say the Latin mattins with him; which grieved him much. And as he returned at other times to hear the Scripture read, his father still would fetch him away. This put him upon the thoughts of learning to read English, that so he might read the New Testament himself: which, when he had by diligence effected, he and his father's apprentice bought the New Testament, joining their stocks together; and to conceal it, he laid it under the bed-straw, and read it at convenient

times. One night, his father being asleep, he and his mother chanced to discourse concerning the crucifix, and kneeling down to it - - -: this he plainly told his mother was plain idolatry. The sum of this evening's conference she presently repeats to her husband: which he, impatient to hear, and boiling in fury against his son, for denying worship to be due to the cross, arose up forthwith, and goes into his son's chamber, and like a mad zealot, taking him by the hair of his head with both his hands, pulled him out of the bed, and whipped him unmercifully. And when the young man bore this beating, as he related, with a kind of joy, considering it was for Christ's sake, and shed not a tear; his father seeing that, was more enraged, and ran down, and fetched an halter, and put it about his neck, saying he would hang him. At length, with much entreaty of the mother and brother, he left him, almost dead."[28]

But although the common people received the Word of God with gladness, many of the clergy used all their influence to prevent the king's injunctions being carried into effect. "It was observed," adds Strype, "that the parsons, vicars, and curates did read confusedly the Word of God, and the king's injunctions, lately set forth, and commanded by them to be read: humming and hawking thereat, that almost no man could understand the meaning of the injunction. And they secretly suborned certain spreaders of rumours and false tales in corners, who interpreted the injunctions to a false sense. . . . . And bad their parishioners, notwithstanding what they read, being compelled so to do, that they should do as they did in times past, to live as their fathers; and that the old fashion is the best." They even insinuated that the king meant to take away the liberties of the realm, with other seditious intimations.[29] The adherents to popery

(28) Strype's Memorials of Archb. Cranmer, I. B. i. ch. xvii. pp. 91—93.
(29) Ibid. I. B. i. ch. xviii. p. 99.

condemned also the translations themselves, in the most virulent terms, and treated those who were in the habit of reading them with severity and contempt.

Dr Fox, bishop of Hereford, an active promoter of the Reformation, dying at London, in 1538, Archbishop Cranmer visited the vacant church and diocese, and gave certain injunctions to the clergy, enjoining that they should procure, "by the first of August, a whole Bible in Latin and English; or at least a New Testament in the same languages; that they should every day study one chapter of the Bible or Testament, conferring the Latin and English together; and to begin at the beginning of the book, and so continue to the end; that they should not discourage any layman from reading the Bible; and to read it for the reformation of their lives, and knowledge of their duty." [30]

In the same year, 1538, a quarto edition of the NEW TESTAMENT was published in *Latin* and *English*. The *English* was Coverdale's version, the *Latin*, that of the Vulgate. It was dedicated to K. Henry VIII. by JOHAN HOLLYBUSHE, the assumed name of *James Nicolson*, the printer, who printed it in Southwark. The dedication was by Coverdale, who assured his majesty "that his principal design was to induce such as knew the English only, and were not learned in Latin, that in comparing these two Texts together, they might the better understand the one by the other; and he did not doubt, but such ignorant bodies, as having cure and charge of souls, were very unlearned in the Latin tongue, should through this small labour be occasioned to attain unto more knowledge, and at least be constrained to say well of the thing which heretofore they had blasphemed." Another edition was published the ensuing year, 1539, in 8vo. There was also an edition of the English New

(30) Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, I. B. i. ch. xviii. p. 100.

Testament printed by Robert Redman, Fleet-street, in 1538, 4to. *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*[31]

About this time an event happened which showed the vigilance and jealousy of the Romanists, with respect to vernacular translations of the Bible. Richard Grafton being desirous of printing a Bible at Paris, on account of the superior skill of the workmen, and the comparative goodness and cheapness of the paper, applied to Lord Cromwell, who obtained a letter from Henry VIII. to Francis I. which being presented by Bishop Bonner, who was then the ambassador, secured him the permission he requested. The time-serving Bonner did not only present the letter to Francis, but, hoping to gain the countenance of the king and Lord Cromwell, showed great friendship to Grafton and his associates, "and so encouraged them that the work went on with good speed and success. And to show how well affected he was now to the Holy Bible, he caused the English there in Paris to print the NEW TESTAMENT in *English* and *Latin*, and took off a great many of them himself, and distributed them to his friends." It was printed in the octavo form, by Reignault, in 1538; and has 1 Peter ii. 13, thus translated, "*Unto the Kynge as unto the chefe heade*," doubtless out of compliment to Henry. But notwithstanding the royal licence which had been granted to Grafton by the French king, for printing his edition of the Bible, which he intended to be in large folio, such was the overswaying authority of the inquisition, that the inquisitor-general interposed by an instrument, dated December 17th, 1538, inhibiting the printing of the said Bible in the English language. The French printers, their English employers, and Coverdale, the corrector of the work, were summoned by the inquisitors; and the impression, consisting of 2500 copies, was seized and condemned to the flames. But the avarice of the officer

(31) Lewis, pp. 112, 113. 118.

who superintended the burning of these *heretical books*, for so they were called, induced him to sell "four great dry-vats" of them as waste paper, to a haberdasher, for the purpose of wrapping his wares. These were bought again. After some time the English proprietors, who had fled at the alarm, returned again to Paris, being encouraged by Lord Cromwell, and not only recovered some of those copies which had escaped the fire, but brought with them to London, the presses, types, and printers. At the time when the printers had been obliged to desist, by the authority of the inquisition, the work was nearly completed, which rendered the loss proportionably greater. Copies of the *Royal Licence* by Francis I. and of the *Instrument* of the Inquisition for inhibiting the Bibles, may be seen in Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. I. ch. xxi. B. i. p. 119; and vol. II. Append. No. xxx.[32]

Grafton, and Whitchurch his coadjutor, resumed the work, on their return to England, and finished it in April, 1539. It is in large folio, and has obtained the name of *the Bible of the largest volume*, or the *Great Bible*, a term which seems to have been occasionally given to other early folio editions. It has also been called *Cranmer's Bible*, from being published with his approbation, and especially, from his prefixing a *preface* to another edition of it, which came out the following year, 1540. These editions had a superb frontispiece, designed by Hans Holbein, and of which a facsimile, ("most feebly and inadequately copied," says Dibdin,) is inserted in Lewis's *History of the English Translations of the Bible*. In the text, those parts of the Latin version which are not found in the Hebrew or Greek, are inserted in a smaller letter. Vellum copies of the edition of 1539 are in the British Museum, and in

(32) Fox, II. p. 516.
Newcome, p. 41.

the library of St. John's College, Cambridge. Editions of Cranmer's Bible were also published in 1541. One of them designed for the churches, was edited by *Cuthbert Tunstall*, bishop of Durham, and *Nicolas Heath*, bishop of Rochester, and was designated in the title-page, as "THE BYBLE IN ENGLYSHE, of the largest and greatest volume, auctorised and apoynted by the commaundement of our most redoubted prynce and soveraygne lorde, kynge Henry the VIII. supreme head of this his churche and realme of Englande: to be frequented and used in every church within this his sayd realme, accordynge to the tenoure of hys former injunctions geven in that behalfe."[33]

In the course of the year 1539, another BIBLE was printed by John Byddell. The principal editor of it was RICHARD TAVERNER, who received his education at Christ Church, in Oxford, under the patronage of Lord Cromwell, when secretary of state. It is probable that his patron encouraged him to undertake this work, on account of his skill in the Greek tongue. It is neither a bare revisal, nor a new version, but a correction of what is called "Matthewe's Bible;" many of whose marginal notes are adopted, and many omitted, and others inserted. After his patron's death, Taverner was imprisoned, Wood (Hist. and Antiq. Univ. Oxon.) believes through the influence of those bishops who were addicted to the Romish religion. He had, however, the address to reinstate himself in the king's favour; and regained his situation at court. His death is said to have happened in 1573.[34]

On November 13th, 1539, the king, at Cranmer's inter-

(33) Newcome, pp. 43. 390.
Lewis, pp. 122. 128, 129. 134. 140.
Beloe's Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books, II. p. 313.
Dibdin's Bibliomania, p. 327.

(34) Lewis, pp. 130—134.
Newcome, pp. 46—48.

cession, appointed his vicar-general, Lord Cromwell, to take special care and charge that no person within the realm attempt to print any English Bible during the space of five years, but such as shall be admitted by the said Lord Cromwell." The reason given was, "that the Bible should be perused and considered in one translation; the frailty of men being such, that the diversity thereof may breed and bring forth manyfold inconveniencies, as when wilful and heady folk shall confer upon the diversity of the said translations."[35]

In May, 1540, the king, by his proclamation, again commanded that the *Bible of the largest volume* should be provided before All Saints' day, by the curates and parishioners of every parish, and set up in their churches; for notwithstanding the former injunctions, many parish churches were yet destitute of the Bible. At the same time, the king fixed the price of the Bibles at *ten shillings* unbound, and not above *twelve shillings* well bound and clasped; and charged all ordinaries to take care that the command of the king was executed. Upon this, Bonner, who had been lately advanced to the see of London, set up *six* Bibles in certain convenient places of St. Paul's church, and affixed upon the pillars to which the Bibles were chained, an admonition to the readers, to "prepare themselves to be edified thereby; to make no exposition thereupon, but what was declared in the books themselves; not to read with noise in time of divine service, or dispute and contend with each other; nor such number to meet together as to make a multitude." This proclamation had also some effect in causing the *English Bible* to be provided by some of the curates and parishioners, who had hitherto neglected to attend to the former injunctions. Thus for instance, it appears by the accounts of the churchwardens of Wye, in Kent, for 1541,

(35) Newcome, p. 48.
Lewis, pp. 121, 122.

that 12d. was paid for making a *Desk* for the Bible.[36]

Another edition of the English Bible was printed in the same year, 1540, in folio, by Thomas Petyt and Roberte Redman, for Thomas Berthelet, the king's printer. Lewis mentions a beautiful copy of this edition, on vellum, and finely illuminated, in the King's Library at Westminster, designed as a presentation copy, as appears from the inscription on the first leaf: "This booke is presented unto youre most excellent highnesse, by your loving, faithful, and obedient subject, and daylie oratour, Anthonye Marter of London, haberdesher."[37]

On the 6th of May, 1541, the king published another brief, or decree, for the setting up of the *Bible of the great volume*, in every parish church throughout England; and on the 7th of May, his Majesty, by his letters to Bishop Bonner, ordered him to publish the decree, and cause it to be affixed on every church-door within his diocese. Injunctions of a similar nature were also issued to the clergy. But the author of a little tract, entitled *The Supplication of the poor Commons*, printed in 1546, and addressed to the king, informs us that these decrees and injunctions were partially and reluctantly observed; that no small number of churches remained without any Bible, and that in other churches it was placed where poor men durst not presume to come. He also charges the bishops with attempting to suppress the Bible, under pretence of preparing a version of it for publication within seven years.[38]

The fall of Thomas Lord Cromwell, earl of Essex, who, from an obscure station, being the son of a blacksmith, had risen to the highest offices in the kingdom, was severely felt by the friends of the Reformation.

(36) Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, I. B. i, ch. xxi. p. 120. Lewis, p. 138.
(37) Lewis, pp. 139, 140.
(38) Newcome, p. 53.
Lewis, pp. 141—144.

During the period that he enjoyed the royal favour, his influence had been united with that of Archbishop Cranmer, in endeavouring to promote the interests of the reformed religion, and the dissemination of the Holy Scriptures. His attachment to the Bible is said to have been greatly confirmed by an intimate acquaintance with the New Testament, having committed the whole of Erasmus's Latin translation of it to memory, during a journey to Rome! He lost the favour of Henry by the active part he took in procuring the marriage of that monarch with Ann of Cleves, and was suddenly seized as he was sitting in council, and committed to the tower. He was attainted by an act of parliament without being heard, and on the 28th of July, 1541, was beheaded on Tower Hill.

The enemies of the English translation of the Bible immediately advanced, that as Cromwell had been the king's chief adviser respecting it, it ought to be regarded as set forth by a traitor;—and complained of it as being exceedingly erroneous and heretical. They further represented to the king, that allowing the people the free use of the Scriptures was the means of increasing faction and party-spirit, and was injurious to the peace of the nation; that the common people disputed and quarrelled about them in taverns and alehouses, calling one another papist and heretic; and that others read them in the churches in the time of divine service, and with so loud a voice as to disturb the congregation. They also warmly censured the prefaces and notes which had accompanied several editions.[39]

One of those who were thus accused of disturbing the congregation by their reading the Scriptures, was a young man of the name of *John Porter*. Agreeably to the practice which had been continued during the life

(39) Fox, II. pp. 498—513.
Lewis, pp. 144, 145.

of Lord Cromwell, this young man, who was of an athletic make, and a good reader, frequented St. Paul's church, and read out of the Bibles affixed to the pillars by Bishop Bonner, to the crowds who collected together in order to hear him. After the death of Lord Cromwell, the bishop and his chaplain sent for him, and severely reproved him; to which he replied, that he trusted he had done nothing contrary to the law, nor to the advertisements or admonitions which the bishop had ordered to be placed over each of the Bibles. Bonner then accused him of making expositions upon the text, and collecting a number of persons together for riotous purposes: the young man vindicated his innocence, and argued that nothing of the sort could be proved against him. But nothing availed, for Bonner sent him to Newgate, where he was loaded with irons, and fastened by an iron collar round his neck to the wall of his dungeon. In this state he sent for a kinsman, who by intreaty and money prevailed upon the jailor to release him from his irons, and permit him to be amongst the other prisoners, many of whom were imprisoned for felony or murder. In this situation he exhorted his fellow prisoners to amendment of life, and gave them such instructions as his knowledge of the Scriptures enabled him. For this he was again confined to the lowest dungeon, and cruelly ironed, and in five or six days afterwards was found dead in his cell, not without strong suspicions of being murdered, the other prisoners having heard his cries and groans as if dreadfully tortured.[40]

In the convocation which met February 16th, 1542, the archbishop, in the king's name, required the bishops and clergy to revise the translation of the New Testament, which he divided for that purpose into fourteen parts, and portioned them to fifteen bishops, assigning

(40) Fox, II. p. 536.

two to the Apocalypse, or Revelation, on account of its difficulty. But a design had been formed to banish the translation already in use. Trifles, therefore, were insisted on; and Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, produced a long catalogue of nearly a hundred Latin words, which he proposed should be left untranslated, or, if translated at all, with as little alteration as possible; some of these were *Ecclesia, Pontifex, Ancilla, Idiota, Cisera, Pascha, Hostia,* &c. &c. The evident intention of Gardiner and his party, was to render the Scriptures obscure or unintelligible to the mere English reader. Cranmer, therefore, perceiving the resolution of the bishops to prevent this mode of translating the Bible, or correcting the former translation, procured the king's consent to refer the matter to the two universities. Against this all the bishops protested, except Goodrick, bishop of Ely, and Barlow, bishop of St. David's. The protesting bishops affirmed that in the universities, which were of late much decayed, all things were carried by young men, the regent masters, whose judgments were not to be relied on; so that the learning of the land was chiefly in the convocation. But the archbishop declared that he would adhere to the will and pleasure of the king his master. By this contest, the cause seems to have been decided; and soon after the convocation was dissolved.[41]

In the parliament which met on the 22nd of January, 1543, the Romish party prevailed, and passed an act, by which it was enacted, "That all manner of bokes of the olde and newe Testament, in English, of this (Tyndall's) translation, should be by authoritie of this act cleerly and utterly abolished, extinguished, and forbidden to be kept and used in this realme, or els where, in anie the king's dominions." But other translations were allowed

(41) Strype's Memorials of Abp. Cranmer, I. B. i. ch. xxiii. p. 135.
Newcome, pp. 53—55.
Lewis, pp. 144—148.

to remain in force, provided the annotations or preambles were "cut or blotted out, so as not to be perceived or read;" which was also enjoined under pain of forfeiting *forty shillings* for every Bible retaining them. It was likewise enacted, "That no manner of person or persons, after the firste day of October then next ensuing, should take upon him, or them, to read, openly to other, in any church, or open assembly, within any of the king's dominions, the Bible, or any part of Scripture, in *English*, unlesse he was so appointed thereunto by the king, or by anie ordinarie. Provided, that the chauncellor of *England*, capitaines of the warres, the king's justices, the recorders of anie citie, borough, or town, the speaker of the parliament, &c. which heretofore have been accustomed to declare or teache any good, vertuous, or godly exhortations in anie assemblies, might use anie part of the Bible or Holie Scripture as they had been wont; and that every *nobleman* and *gentleman* being a housholder, might read, or cause to be read, by any of his familie servants in his *house*, *orchardes*, or *garden*, and to his *own familie*, anie text of the Bible or New Testament; and also every *merchant-man*, being a housholder; and any other persons other than women, prentices, &c. might read to themselves privately the Bible, &c. But *no women*, except *noblewomen* and *gentlewomen*, who might read to themselves alone and not to others any texts of the Bible, &c. nor *artificers*, *prentises*, *journeymen*, *serving-men* of the degrees of *yomen** or under, *husbandmen*, nor *labourers* were to read the Bible or New Testament in *English* to himself or to any other privately or openly." The penalties by which the act was enforced, breathed the barbarous spirit with which the supporters of popery were then animated. For the first offence, they were to recant; for the second to bear

* "Cowel says, *Yomen* were officers in the king's family, in the middle place betwixt *Serjeants* and *Groomes*, See Stat. 33, Hen. VIII. c. 12."

a faggot; and for the third they were to be burnt.[42]

Soon after the passing of this act, a treatise, called *A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christian man*, was published by royal authority; in the preface to which the king tells his subjects, that "for the part of the church ordained to be taught, it ought to be deemed certainly, that the reading of the Old and New Testament is not so necessary for all those folks, that of duty they ought and be bound to read it, but as the prince and the policy of the realm shall think convenient to be so tolerated, or taken from it. Consonant whereunto, the politic law of our realm hath now restrained it from a great many."[43]

After this, Grafton, the king's printer, was summoned, for printing what was called "Matthewe's Bible," in 1537. He was also questioned respecting the "Great Bible," and the notes he intended to print along with it; to which he replied, that "he added none to the Bible he printed, when he perceived the king and the clergy not willing to have any:" yet he was sent to the Fleet prison, and confined for six weeks, and only released on giving a bond of £300. neither to print nor sell any more English Bibles, till the king and the clergy should agree on a translation.[44]

In 1544, John Day and William Seres printed the PENTATEUCH, "after the copy that the kyng's majesty had set forth," in a small 12mo. volume.[45]

The suppression of Tyndall's translation of the Bible, and other works, occasioned the publication of several tracts in defence of it; the following extract is from one of them, addressed to Bishop Gardiner, under a fictitious

(42) Lewis, pp. 148—150.
Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, XII. pp. 95, 96.
(43) Lewis, pp. 150, 151.
Newcome, p. 57.
(44) Strype's Memorials of Abp. Cranmer, B. i. ch. xxi. p. 121.
(45) Lewis, p. 152.

name: "Willyam tyndale wrote many bookes where in ar many true and godly sentences, and saynges, whiche he had taken out of the holy scripture, and the hole new testament, whiche is the undouted word of god, cam out of hys pen into our englishe tong. Willyam tyndale was bannisshed out of Englond, and burnt as an heretike in brabant; whether is it well and wisely don or no, that hys bookes, whiche conteyn so miche godly learnyng, and the hole new testament, which cam thorow hys pen, are forbidden to be red, and so bannisshed for an heresi or ij that ye say ar in hys bookes, and for half a dosen fautes that ar in hys translation? If it be euel don why do ye not amend your doyng, and whi suffer ye not hys bookes to be red, whi blot ye out the fautes of hys translation, and condemne no more Christis learnyng because it cam thorow W. Tyndalles pen? If it be well don that W. Tyndalles bookes and the new Testament of hys translation ar forbidden to be red, and ar bannisshed away withe hym because they have sum fautes or an heresi or ij in them, and ar cummed out of hys pen, then all the hole doctrine that euer the pope taught, withe all hys traditions and bookes whiche are so full of heresies and superstitiones, and have so little scripture in them, ought to be miche more bannisshed away with the pope, and ought to be forbidden to be red then tindalles bookes and the Testament of hys translation ought now to be bannisshed and forbidden. Is there any holyer doctrine in the popis law, and in hys ceremonies and traditiones, then in the new Testament of tyndalles translation? ar there not as many hereses in the popis bookes as in tyndalles? What reson is it then that tyndalles bokes and the new Testament of hys translation shall be bannisshed away withe tyndal, and be forbidden to be red, and that the popis doctrine and ceremonies, withe his bookes, shall not be bannisshed withe the pope, but shall be kept still and red in the chirche as a new gospel in the mother tong, that

all the hole chirche may under stande his doctrine, and learn it when as Christis doctrine must be sayd and song in such a tong as not one among an C. understandethe because as it apperethe that few should learn it? Whether hathe tyndal now or the pope more fauor shewed unto hym in Englond? tyndall which is bannisshed bothe bodely and withe all hys bokes and doctrine both good and bad or the pope, whos doctrine and bookes ar red and alowed, after that he is commanded of the hiest pouer under god to be baanisshed out of Englond for his heresie and treson? If the pope haue not more fauor, then Christe hathe in Englonde, why may the popis gospel be red of all men in English, and Christis gospel is forbidden to be red in english, and only a few of gentle and rich men may rede it?"[46]

The disputes which arose between those who were termed *Gospellers* and others, produced most unhappy effects; for the *Gospellers*, as they were called, taunted at the ignorance and errors of the priests, and the others "made it their business to derogate from the Scripture, to deal with it irreverently, and to rhyme, and sing, and make sport with it, in alehouses and taverns. Henry therefore, on the dissolution of his last parliament in 1545, thus addressed the members of it:——"What signs of charity are these, when one calls another heretic and anabaptist, and the other returns the language of papist and hypocrite? The occasion of these animosities is partly to be charged upon you, who are the *spiritual guides* and fathers of the church: For if I know a man who lives in adultery, I must conclude him a liber-

(46) "The rescuynge of the Romish Fox, otherwise called, The examination of the Hunter devised by Steven Gardiner. The Second Course of ye Romish Fox and his advocate and sworn patron Steven Gardiner, doctor and defender of ye popis canon Law and his ungodly ceremonies." Dedicated to King Henry VIII. by William Wagron, "Emprinted," 1545, by Hanse Hitprick, 12mo. *sheet L.*

tine, and a debauchee. If I see a man brag of any advantage, I cannot help thinking him tinctured with pride. I am every day informed that you of the clergy are declaiming against each other, in the pulpit: and here your charity and discretion is quite lost in vehemence and satire: some are too stiff in their old *mumpsimus*, and others too busy and curious in their new *sumpsimus*. Can I suppose you governed by principles of charity while you manage thus? That is impossible;—alas! How can we expect the poor people should live friendly with their neighbours, when they have such unhappy precedents of discord and dissention in those that teach them." ——"And, though the *spirituality* are in some fault for breaking into parties, and living upon ill terms with those of their own business, yet you of the *temporality* don't stand clear of envy and ill-nature. For you rail on the bishops, defame, and misreport the priests, and treat the preacher with contumely and ill-language. ——'Tis true you are allowed to read the *Holy Scriptures*, and to have the Word of God in your mother tongue. But then, this permission is only designed for private information, and the instruction of your children and family: 'Twas never intended for mooting and dispute, nor to furnish you with reprimanding phrases and expressions of reproach against priests and preachers. And yet, this is the use a great many disorderly people make of the privilege of having the *Scriptures*. I am extremely sorry to find how much the Word of God is abused; with how little reverence 'tis mentioned, both with respect to place and occasion; how people squabble about the sense. How 'tis turned into wretched rhyme; sung and jangled in every alehouse and tavern; and all this in a false construction, and countermeaning to the inspired writers. I am sorry to perceive the *readers* of the *Bible* discover so little of it in their practice. I must therefore recommend to you the same duty I men-

tioned first: as Christianity makes you *brothers*, answer that relation to each other. Let the majesty and goodness of God make a suitable impression upon your minds; and then, I don't question, but that affection and good correspondence, of which I reminded you before, will always continue between you and your sovereign."[47]

In 1546, the last year of his reign, the king issued another proclamation, by which he prohibited having or reading *Wiclif's*, *Tyndall's*, and *Coverdale's* Bibles, or using any other than what was allowed by parliament, under the "penalty of imprisonment and corporal punishment, at the king's pleasure, and being fined by his majesty, or four of his council." Thus the reading of the Scriptures was more strictly forbidden than before, since *Coverdale's* translation was now forbidden as well as *Tyndall's*; and the people were as uncertain as ever what the translation was which was permitted by the act. This prohibition, Strype thinks, was occasioned by the contests and clamorous disputes of the people with each other; but a much more probable and powerful cause is assigned by Archbishop Newcome, who attributes it to the increasing strength of the Romish faction, and the abatement of the king's warmth for the Reformation.[48]

Henry, however, permitted his subjects to use an English *Form of public Prayer*, and ordered one to be printed for their use, entitled THE PRIMER, said to be "set furth by the kinge's majestie and his clergie, to be taught, lerned, and red: and none other to be used thorowout all his dominions." In the preface, by the king, it stated, that "his majesty had set out and given to his subjects a determinate form of praying in their own mother tongue, to the intent that such as were

(47) Collier's Eccles. Hist. II. pt. ii. p. 208.
(48) Lewis, pp. 152, 153. Newcome, pp. 58, 59.
Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, I. ch. xxx. p. 197.

ignorant of any strange or foreign speech might have what to pray in their own acquainted and familiar language with fruit and understanding." This little book, important as the forerunner of the performance of the public religious service in English, contains, beside prayers, several *Psalms*, with *Lessons* and *Anthems* taken out of the Old and New Testament, verbally translated from the Latin Vulgate.[49]

"The history of our English translations, in the time of Henry VIII." says Archbishop Newcome, "illustrates what is well known, that the king exercised a very despotic power both in religious and civil affairs. It also shows with what zeal and prudence the friends to the Reformation conducted themselves in the great work of introducing and improving the English translations of the Bible; what peculiar difficulties they had to encounter from the dangerous inconstancy of a tyrant, and from the inveterate prejudices of a strong Romish party; and with what avidity the English Scriptures were read by the bulk of the people, so that the free use of them at length became a mark of honourable distinction to the higher ranks."[50]

Henry died January 28th, 1547, aged 56; and notwithstanding the inconstancy of his conduct in favour of the Reformation, Archbishop Newcome enumerates *fourteen* editions of the whole BIBLE, and *eighteen* editions of the NEW TESTAMENT, beside several editions of distinct parts of the Scriptures, printed during his reign.

In the mean time, SCOTLAND began to experience the happy effects resulting from a more general acquaintance with the Sacred Writings. Before the Lutheran reformation extended its influence to that kingdom, "gross darkness," the result of popish superstition, "covered the land." "Even bishops were not ashamed to confess that they

(49) Lewis, p. 154.
(50) Newcome, pp. 59, 60.

were unacquainted with the canon of their faith, and had never read any part of the Sacred Scriptures, except what they met with in their missals. Under such pastors the people perished for lack of knowledge. That book which was able to make them wise unto salvation, and intended to be equally accessible to 'Jew and Greek, Barbarian and Scythian, bond and free,' was locked up from them, and the use of it, in their own tongue, prohibited under the heaviest penalties. The religious service was mumbled over in a dead language, which many of the priests did not understand, and some of them could scarcely read; and the greatest care was taken to prevent even catechisms, composed and approved by the clergy, from coming into the hands of the laity."[51]

Andrew Forman, bishop of Murray, and papal legate for Scotland, being obliged to *say grace*, at an entertainment which he gave to the pope and cardinals, in Rome, blundered so in his latinity, that his Holiness and their eminences lost their gravity, which so disconcerted the bishop, that he concluded the blessing by giving *all the false carles to the devil, in nomine patris, filii, et sancti spiritus;* to which the company, not understanding his Scoto-Latin, said *Amen.* By many of the Scottish clergy it was affirmed, "that Martin Luther had lately composed a wicked book called the *New Testament;* but that they, for their part, would adhere to the *Old* Testament." Even the libraries of their monasteries were some of them without a complete copy of the Scriptures. In the catalogue of the library at Stirling, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, we find only two PSALTERS, and one copy of the GOSPELS and EPISTLES, in MS. most probably in Latin; the rest of its contents being purely monkish. There were four *Missals*, four *Antiphonars*, three *Breviaries*, two *Legends*, four *Graduals*,

(51) M'Crie's Life of John Knox, I. pp. 18, 19.

and ten *Processionals.* Nothing, however, can more completely exemplify the indifference to the Scriptures which prevailed among the dignified clergy, than the conversation which took place betwixt Dean *Thomas Forest*, vicar of Dollar, and George Chrichton, bishop of Dunkeld, about A. D. 1538. The vicar, who was also canon of St. Columbs, was accused of heresy to the bishop, for preaching every Sunday on the Epistle or Gospel of the day. The bishop, when the vicar appeared before him, addressed him in this manner: "My joy, Dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach the Epistle and Gospel every Sunday, to your parishioners, and that you do not take the best cow and the best cloth from them, which is very prejudicial to other churchmen; and, therefore, my joy, Dean Thomas, I would you to take your cow and your cloth, as other churchmen do.* It is too much to preach every Sunday; for in so doing you make the people think that we should preach likewise: it is enough for you, when you find any good Epistle, or good Gospel, that setteth forth the liberties of holy church, to preach that, and let the rest alone." To this sage admonition of his bishop, the good vicar answered, "I think, my lord, that none of my parishioners will complain that I do not take the cow and the cloth; but I know they will gladly give me any thing that they have; and they know that I will gladly give them any thing I have. There is no discord amongst us. Your lordship sayeth, it is too much to preach every Sunday: I think it is too little; and I wish that your lordship did the like." "Nay, nay, Dean Thomas," said the bishop, "we were not

* This was a perquisite termed the *Corpse-present*, paid to the vicar of the parish, on the death of any of his parishioners. It consisted, in country parishes, of the best cow which belonged to the deceased, and the uppermost cloth or covering of his bed, or the finest of his body clothes. The *Corpse-present* was not confined to Scotland. We find the English House of Commons complaining of it, A. D. 1530. See M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, I. p. 349, note G.

ordained to preach." "Your lordship," said the vicar, "directs me, when I meet with a good Epistle, or a good Gospel, to preach upon it. I have read both the Old and New Testament, and have never met with a bad Epistle, or a bad Gospel; but if your lordship will show me which are the good, and which are the bad, I will preach on the good, and let the bad alone." "I thank my God," said the bishop, "I know nothing of either the *Old* or *New Testament*; therefore, Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portass, [breviary,] and my pontifical. Go away, and lay aside all these fantasies, or you will repent it when too late." M'Crie *(Life of Knox,)* has given an interesting account of this excellent clergyman, the vicar of Dollar, from which we learn that his father had been master-stabler to James IV. that after receiving the rudiments of his education in Scotland, he prosecuted his education at Cologne; and on his return was admitted a canon regular in the monastery of St. Colon's Inch; where being presented by the abbot with a volume of St. Augustin's works, his mind was enlightened, and he began to study the Scriptures. He was afterwards appointed to the vicarage of Dollar, and when the agents of the pope attempted to sell *Indulgences,* in his parish, he warned his parishioners against them: "I am bound," said he, "to speak the truth to you: this is but to deceive you. There is no pardon for our sins that can come to us, either from pope or any other, but only by the blood of the Christ." He used to commit three chapters of the Bible to memory every day, and made his servant hear him repeat them at night. He suffered martyrdom in 1538.[52]

But notwithstanding the general ignorance which overspread the nation, a gleam of light threw its rays

(52) M'Crie's Life of Knox, I. pp. 19. 343. 354. 440, *notes.*
Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, XII. B. vi. ch. ii. pp. 126—128.
Fox, II. p. 614.

across the minds of certain individuals, probably by the introduction of some of the writings of Luther, since an act of parliament was passed so early as July 17th, 1525, *for eschewing of heresy*, which enacted, that "na maner of persoun, strangear, that happinis to arrive with thare schip, within ony part of this realme, bring with thame ony bukis or workis, of the said Luther, his discipulis or servandis, disputis or rehersis, his heresies, &c. under the pane of escheting of thare schipis and guidis, and putting of thaire personis in presoun." And in 1527, the chancellor and lords of council added this clause, "and all uther the kingis liegis assistaris to sic opunyeons, be punist in semeible wise, and the effect of the said act to straike apon thaim." So that it appears, that in 1525, protestant books and opinions were circulated by strangers only, who came into Scotland for the purpose of trade; but that in 1527, it was found necessary to extend the penalties of the act to natives of the kingdom. This act was renewed in 1535, with some additions.[53]

The jealous caution of the patrons of popery could not prevent the progress of truth; for by means of merchants who traded from England and the continent, to the ports of Leith, Dundee, and Montrose, Tyndall's *Translations of the Scriptures*, with the writings of Luther and other Reformers, were imported; and consigned to persons of tried principles and prudence, who circulated them in private with indefatigable industry. "One copy of the Bible, or of the New Testament, supplied several families. At the dead hour of night, when others were asleep, they assembled in one house; the Sacred Volume was brought from its concealment, and, while one read, the rest listened with attention. In this way the knowledge of the Scriptures was diffused, at a period when it does not appear there were any public teachers of the truth in Scotland."[54]

(53) M'Crie's Life of Knox, I. Period 2, p. 37, *note*.
(54) M'Crie's Life of Knox, I. p. 32.

Poetry also became the vehicle for conveying the sentiments of the reformers to the people. The ignorance and immorality of the clergy were satirized, and the absurdities of popery exposed to ridicule. These poetical effusions were easily committed to memory, and could be communicated without the intervention of the press, which at that time was under the control of the bishops. Dramatic compositions of a similar tendency were repeatedly acted in the presence of the royal family, the nobility, and vast assemblies of the people. In vain did the bishops repeatedly procure the enactment of laws against the circulation of seditious rhymes, and blasphemous ballads; the people still read with avidity the metrical epistles, moralities, and psalms composed in their native language. KENNEDY and KYLLOR, the former a young gentleman, the latter a friar, both of whom were cruelly burnt in 1538, distinguished themselves by their satirical dramas. The latter of these composed a Scripture tragedy on the *Crucifixion of Christ*, in which he painted the conduct of the popish clergy, under that of the Jewish priests. This drama was exhibited before James V. at Stirling, about the year 1535; and so ingeniously portrayed the manners of the papists, that the most simple perceived the resemblance between the Jewish priests and the Scottish clergy, in their opposition to the truth, and the persecution of its friends. Another poet of a similar genius was JAMES WEDDERBURN, son of a merchant in Dundee. He converted the *History of the beheading of John the Baptist*, into a dramatic form; and also the *History of the Tyrant Dionysius*, and in both of them satirized the popish religion. His two brothers, *John* and *Robert*, composed a metrical version of a number of the *Psalms*, which were afterwards ommonly sung in the assemblies of the protestants, until superseded by the version of Sternhold and Hopkins. They were also the chief authors of *Gude and Godly ballates, changed out*

of prophane sangs, for avoyding of sin, harlotrie, &c. a work, the nature of which is indicated by the title, and which seems to have been composed for the purpose of circulating the reformed opinions in Scotland; and in it "the air, the measure, the initial line, or the chorus, of the ballads most commonly sung at that time, were transferred to hymns of devotion;" and although, to us, this association may appear unnatural and gross, it is certain, these spiritual songs edified multitudes at that time. The same principle obtained, and the same practice was adopted at that period, in Italy, France, and Holland. But the poet who had the greatest influence in promoting the Reformation was Sir David Lindsay *of the Mount*, Lyon king at arms, who enjoyed the favour both of James IV. and of his son. He was esteemed one of the first poets of his age, and possessed extensive learning, united to the most keen and penetrating wit. His *Satyre on the three Estates* was repeatedly acted before the royal family and the nobility. It exposed the avarice, luxury, and profligacy of the religious orders; the temporal power and opulence of the bishops, with their total neglect of preaching; the prohibition of reading the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, &c. In his *Monarchie*, composed by him at a subsequent period, he traced the rise and progress of the papacy, and has discovered a knowledge of history, and of the causes that produced the corruption of Christianity, which would not disgrace any modern author. His poems were so universally popular, that it is said they were read by "every man, woman, and child."[55] His principal defence of the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue, is contained in "The first book of the Monarchie," from which it is here extracted, as furnishing a curious document in the history of vernacular translations.

(55) M'Crie's Life of Knox, I. pp. 33, 34. 50; *notes* pp. 354. 362—366.

"An Exclamation to the reader, touching the writing in vulgar and maternal language."

" Gentle Reader, have at me no despite,
Thinking that I presumtuously pretend,
In vulgar tongue so hie matter to write:
But where I misse I pray thee to amend.
To the unlearn'd I would the cause were kend,
Of our most miserable travell and torment,
And how in Earth no place is permanent.

Howbeit that diverse devote Cunning Clarkes,
In Latine tongue have written sundrie bookes,
Our unlearn'd knowes little of their warkes,
More then they do the raving of the Rookes:
Wherefore to Calliats, Carcers, and to Cookes,
To *Jacke* and *Tom* my Rime shall be directed,
With cunning men howbeit that it be lacke.

Though every Common may not be a Clark,
Nor hath no Leed except their tongue maternall,
Why should of GOD the marvellous heavenly wark
Be hid from them? I think it not freternell.
The Father of heaven, which was and is eternall
To MOSES gave the LAW on mount SINAY,
Not into Greek nor Latine as they say.

He wrote the Law in tables hard of stone,
In their own vulgar Language of Hebrew:
That the children of Israel every one,
Might know the Law, and to the same ensew.
Had he don write in Latine, or in Grew,
It had to them bene a savourlesse jest,
Ye may well know GOD wrought all for the best.

ARISTOTLE nor PLATO I heard sane,
Wrote not their Philosophie naturall,
In Dutch nor Dence, nor tongue Italiane:
But in their most proper tongue maternall.
Whose fame and name doth reigne perpetuall.
Famous VIRGIL, the Prince of Poetrie,
Nor CICERO, the flower of Oratry,

Wrote not in Chaldie language nor in Grew,
Nor yet into the language Saracene,
Nor in the naturall language of Hebrew,
But in the Romane tongue, as may be seen.
Which was their proper language as I weene.
When Romanes reigned Dominators indeed,
The ornat Latine was their proper Leede.

In the mean time when that these bold Romanes,
Over all the world had the Dominion,
Made Latine schooles, their glore for to advance,
That their language might be over all common:
To that intent by mine opinion.
Trusting that their Empire should ay endure,
But of fortune alwayes they were not sure.

Of languages the first diversitie,
Was made by God's malediction:
When BABYLON was builded in CHALDIE,
These builders got none other affliction.
Before the time of that punition
Was but one tongue, which Adam spake himself,
Where now of tongues there be threescore and twelve.

Notwithstanding I think it great pleasure,
Where cunning men have languages anew,
That in their youth, by diligent labour,
Have learned Latine, Greek, and Hebrew.
That I am not of that sort, sore I rew.
Wherefore I would all Books necessar,
For our faith were into our tongues vulgar.

CHRIST after his glorious ascension
To his disciples sent his holy Sprite
In tongues of fire, to that intention,
That being of all languages repleat,
Through all the world, with words faire and sweet,
To every man the faith they would forth shaw,
In their own Leed delivering them their Law.

Therefore I think a great derision,
To hear the Nunnes and Sisters night and day,
Singing and saying Psalmes and Orison,
Not understanding what they sing or say,
But like a Stirling or a Popinjay,
Which learned are to speak by long usage,
Them I compare to Birds in a cage.

Right so Children and Ladies of Honours,
Pray in Latine, to them an uncouth Leede,
Mumbling their Matine, Evensong, and their Hours,
Their PATER NOSTER, AVE, and their CREED,
It were as pleasant to their spirit indeed
God have mercy on me for to say thus,
As for to say MISERERE MEI DEUS.

Sainct HIEROME in his proper tongue Romane
The Law of God truely he did translate,
Out of Hebrew, Greek, and Latine in plaine,

Which hath been hid from us long time God wait,
Untill this time: But after my conceit,
Had Sainct HIEROME been borne into ARGYLE,
In IRISH tongue his Books had done compyle.

Prudent Saint PAUL doth make narration,
Touching the diverse Leedes of every Land,
Saying there have been more edification
In five words, that folk do understand,
Then to pronounce of words ten thousand,
In strange language, and knows not what it means;
I think such pratling is not worth two preans.

Unlearned people on the holy day,
Solemnedly they hear the Evangell sung,
Not knowing what the priest doth sing or say,
But as a Bell when that they hear it rung,
Yet would the Priests in their mother tongue,
Passe to the Pulpet and that doctrine declare,
To Laicke people, it were more necessare.

I would that Prelates and Doctors of the Law,
With Laicke people were not discontent,
Though we into our vulgar tongue did knaw,
Of Christ Jesus the Law and Testament.
And how that we should keep commandement,
But in our language let us pray and read,
Our PATER NOSTER, AVE, and our CREED.

I would some Prince of great discretion,
In vulgar language plainly causde translate
The needful Lawes of this Region:
Then would there not be halfe so great debate
Among us people of the low estate.
If every man the verity did knaw,
We needed not to treat these men of Law.

To do our neighbour wrong, we would beware,
If we did fear the Lawes punishment:
There would not be such brawling at the Bar,
Nor men of Law clime to such Royal rent,
To keep the Law: if all men were content,
And each man do, as he would be done to,
The Judges would get little thing adoe.

The Prophet DAVID King of Israel,
Compylde the pleasant Psalmes of the Psalter,
In his own proper tongue, as I here tell:
And SOLOMON which was his Son and Haire,
Did make his Book into his tongue vulgar:
Why should not their sayings be to us shown
In our language, I would the cause were known.

Let Doctors write their curious questions,
And arguments sown full of sophistrie:
Their Logick, and their high opinions,
Their dark judgements of Astronomie,
Their Medicine, and their Philosophie,
Let Poets shew their glorious engine,
As ever they please, in Greek or in Latine.

But let us have the books necessare,
To Commoun-wealth, and our Salvation:
Justly translated in our tongue vulgare,
And eke I make you supplication,
O gentle Reader, have none indignation,
Thinking to meddle with so high matter,
Now to my purpose forward will I fare." [56]

Some attempts were likewise made to introduce among the clergy and the higher ranks of the laity, the study of the *Original Languages* of the Scriptures. In 1534, *John Erskine, of Dun,* brought a learned man from France, and employed him to teach *Greek,* in Montrose; and upon his removal, liberally encouraged others to come from France and succeed to his place. From this private seminary, many Greek scholars proceeded, and the knowledge of the language was gradually diffused over the kingdom. At this school, *George Wishart* probably obtained his acquaintance with that language; and was employed as one of the teachers. But William Chisholm, bishop of Brechin, hearing that Wishart taught the *Greek New Testament,* summoned him to appear before him, on a charge of heresy, upon which he fled the kingdom, in 1538, and remained abroad till 1544; when he returned to Scotland, but very soon fell a prey to the snares of Cardinal Beaton, and suffered death as a martyr, at St. Andrews. The celebrated reformer, *John Knox,* is supposed to have studied Greek under him.

(56) Lindsay's Monarchie, B. i. The copy from which I have extracted the above is a small octavo, printed in the Gothic letter. It is not paged; and having lost the title-page, I cannot ascertain the place where printed, nor the date; but it appears to have been printed in England, both from the form of the type, and the *anglicised* orthography.

The *Hebrew* language was not taught in Scotland till many years afterwards, when it was introduced by Mr. *John Row*, minister of Perth, who being a native of Scotland, was invested with the character of nuncio, or legate, by Pope Paul IV. and sent, in 1558, to oppose the progress of the Reformation; but having detected a pretended miracle, was induced to examine the Scriptures, and subsequently to embrace the protestant sentiments. His son, who was afterwards minister of Charnock, was taught the Hebrew alphabet at four or five years of age, before he knew the letters of his native tongue; and his grandson, who was Principal of King's College, Old Aberdeen, published in 1634, the first Hebrew grammar in the English tongue; and a second edition, with a Hebrew vocabulary, in 1644. All three bore the name of *John*.[57]

The endeavours of the Scottish reformers to disseminate the truth, and render the Scriptures more generally known and understood, met with the most determined opposition; and persecution exercised its fatal cruelties upon the reformers themselves. *Patrick Hamilton*, an amiable youth of royal descent, and considerable learning and eloquence, was the first who fell a sacrifice in Scotland. He was burnt at the stake, at Glasgow, with circumstances of peculiar barbarity, A. D. 1527. In 1530, *Henry Forrest*, another young man of learning, suffered at St. Andrews, for possessing a copy of the *New Testament*, and affirming that Patrick Hamilton was a true martyr. And beside many others, Sir *John Borthwick* was accused of entertaining and propagating heretical opinions, and dispersing heretical books, among which, the *New Testament* in *English* was enumerated first. Having escaped to England, he was declared an obsti-

(57) M'Crie's Life of Knox, I. p. 6; *notes* pp. 342—345.
Scott's Lives of the Protestant Reformers in Scotland, pp. 3, 158, 195, 196.

nate heretic, and sentenced to be burnt, as soon as he could be apprehended: all persons were prohibited to entertain him, under the pain of excommunication; and all goods and estates confiscated; and his effigy to be burnt at the market cross. This was in 1540.[58]

The death of James V. in December, 1542, proved a fortunate event to the cause of religion. The Earl of Arran, who was appointed regent, had been favourable to the doctrines of the Reformation, and was soon surrounded with counsellors who were of the same principles. He chose for his chaplains, preachers who had embraced the protestant opinions; one of whom, whose name was *Thomas Guillaume,* or *Williams,* was the honoured instrument of first enlightening, by his sermons, the mind of the great Scottish reformer, *John Knox,* and "is said to have translated the New Testament into the vulgar language." These auspicious circumstances were rendered still more favourable, by a proposal of marriage from Henry VIII. who eagerly pressed an union between his son Edward and the young queen of Scots. The Scottish parliament agreed to the match; commissioners were sent into England to settle the terms; and the contract of marriage was drawn out, subscribed, and ratified by all parties. But these fair appearances were soon blasted, through the intrigues of Cardinal Beaton and the Queen-mother, the fickleness and timidity of the Regent, and the violence of the English monarch. The treaty of marriage was broken off; the regent renounced connection with England, and publicly abjured the reformed religion in the church of Stirling; and the young queen was soon after betrothed to the dauphin of France, and sent into that kingdom.

The Reformation had, however, made considerable progress during the short time that it had been patronised

(58) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, B. vi. pp. 119, 120. 125, 126. Fox, II. p. 613.
M'Crie's Life of Knox, I. pp. 28, 29; *notes* p. 353.

by the regent. In the month of March, 1543, an act of parliament had been made and published, declaring it lawful for every person to read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. This act, which was opposed by the bishops, who protested against it, was signally serviceable to the cause of religion. Formerly it had been reckoned a crime to look on the sacred books; now to read them was safe, and even the way to honour. "Then," says Knox, "might have been seen the *Bible* lying on almost every gentleman's table. The *New Testament* was borne about in many men's hands. The knowledge of God did wonderfully increase, and he gave his Holy Spirit to simple men in great abundance." Such had been the zeal even of the regent, that he had been induced by it to apply to Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, "to write into England for some Bibles, in English."[59]

After the abjuration of the Earl of Arran, the regent, and the re-advancement of Cardinal Beaton to power, the spread of the principles of the Reformation was for several years considerably checked, till, by the intrepidity of the celebrated John Knox, and other undaunted advocates of Gospel liberty and truth, the sentiments of the Reformers were publicly avowed, and the reformed church of Scotland obtained the sanction of the government. Suspending, therefore, for the present, our enquiries into the state of Biblical knowledge in Scotland, our views are directed to FRANCE, a country at that period intimately connected with it.

The *French* translations of this period were of two classes; the first of them consisting of revised editions of Guiars des Moulins's version of Comestor's *Historia Scholastica;* the other, of translations from either the Latin Vulgate, or the original texts. Of the former, Le Long

(59) M'Crie's Life of Knox, I. pp. 39, 40.
Scott's Lives of the Reformers, pp. 22, 23. 96.
Beloe's Anecdotes of Literature, II. p. 328.

(Biblioth. Sacr.) has noticed several editions; and D. Clement, in his *Bibliotheque Curieuse*, has mentioned the three following, as being in the Royal Library at Paris:

1. "La BIBLE, en Françoys, depuis la creation du monde, jusq'au Livre de Job, inclusivement: extraite de l' Histoire Scolastique de Pierre le Mengeur, appellée la Bible Historiale ou Historiée. Paris, *Mich. le Noir*, environ l' an 1515, in 4to."

2. "La BIBLE translatée de Latin en Françoys au vray sens, pour les simples gens qui n' entendent pas le Latin, corrigée et imprimée nouvellement XXXV.C. (1535) in 4to."

3. "La grant BIBLE en Françoys, historiée & corrigée. Paris, *Anthoyne Bonnemere*, 1538, in fol."[60]

Bayle, in his *Dictionary*, art. AARON, remarks, that in the preface to Bonnemere's edition, the editor informs his readers, that "the translation was not calculated for clerks, but for the laity, and for unlearned monks and hermits;" and affirms, that the French translator "has *added* nothing but the genuine truth, according to the express terms of the Latin Bible; nor *omitted* any thing but what was improper to be translated." But notwithstanding these professions, two Jewish legendary stories are interwoven in the 32nd chapter of Exodus, where it is related, "That the ashes of the golden calf, which Moses caused to be burnt, and mixed with the water that was drunk by the Israelites, stuck to the beards of such has had fallen down before it, by which they appeared with gilt beards, as a peculiar mark to distinguish those who had worshipped the calf:" and also, "That upon Hur's refusing to make gods for the Israelites, they spit upon him with so much fury and violence, that they quite suffocated him!"[61]

If we may judge of the other editions of Des Moulins's

(60) Clement, Bibliotheque Curieuse, &c. IV. p. 23. Hanover, 1753, 4to.
(61) General Dictionary, by Bernard, &c. I. p. 1. Lond. 1734-41, fol.

translation, by the specimen given by Bayle, we must consider the man who presented the French nation with a genuine translation of the Sacred Scriptures, as conferring upon his countrymen an inestimable benefit. Of this nature were the second class of translations of the Scriptures into French. The earliest *printed* edition is universally attributed to the celebrated JAQUES LE FEVRE, as its author. The NEW TESTAMENT, as we have already seen, (p. 227,) had been printed at Paris, in 1523; and Le Long says, that an edition of the OLD TESTAMENT, was printed at Antwerp, by Martin L' Empereur, in 1528, accompanied with the *approbation* of Nicolas Coppin, a Catholic inquisitor, and dean of St. Peter's at Louvain. The same printer republished the OLD TESTAMENT, without the *Psalms*, in 1529—32, in 4 vols. 8vo. Afterwards he added the PSALMS and the NEW TESTAMENT, and *Summaries of the books and chapters*, and printed an edition of the *whole Bible*, in 1530, in Gothic characters, in 2 vols. fol. with rude wood-cuts, and the *privilege* of the Emperor Charles V. annexed; and a second in 1534. In 1541, another edition of this version was printed at the same place, for Anthony de la Haye, by Anthony des Bois, in fol. These editions were afterwards prohibited by the Catholic authorities, and placed among the *Libri Prohibiti*, of the Romish church, which has led Clement to say, respecting F. Simon, who had boasted in his *Critical History*, that the first publishers of the *French* Bible, now in use, were catholics,—"that if he had known that this translation had been made by *Jaques le Fevre*, and that the faculty of theology of Paris had declared him an heretic, and expressly forbid him to be named, in their public disputations, as a Catholic author, he probably would not have so loudly affirmed that the first authors of the present French version were Catholics."[62]

(62) Clement, Bibliotheque Curieuse, IV. pp. 4—6.
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. I. pp. 326—328.
De Bure, Bibliographie Instructive, *Vol. de Theologie*, pp. 77—82.

In 1535, the celebrated *French* version generally called *Olivetan's Bible*, from the name of its ostensible translator, was begun to be printed at Neufchâtel in Switzerland, by Pierre de Wingle, and bears this date in the title, though De Bure says it was not completed till 1537. The title of this rare edition is as follows: "La Bible qui est toute la Saincte escripture. En laquelle sont contenus, le Vieil Testament et le Nouveau, translatez en Françoys. Le Vieil de Lebrieu: et le Nouveau, du Grec. Aussi deux amples Tables, lune pour linterpretation des propres noms: lautre en forme Dindice, pour trouer plusieurs sentences et matieres." Beneath are two mottos. The first two words are printed within a wood-cut frame, or border, having an Hebrew inscription on a label at the top. On the reverse is a Latin address from Calvin, with a pompous title, "JOANNES CALUINUS CESARIBUS, REGIBUS, PRINCIBUS, GENTIBUSQUE OMNIBUS CHRISTI IMPERIO SUBDITIS SALUTEM." This is followed by a French address of "ROBERT OLIEUETANUS, HUMBLE ET PETIT TRANSLATEUR, A LEGLISE DE JESUS CHRIST SALUT," dated "DES ALPES CE XII. DE FEBURIER, 1535." A great air of tenderness and simplicity pervades the whole of this epistle. In the Latin Preface by Calvin, positions are found very different from those which he afterwards maintained.* The printer received fifteen

* The following extracts from this preface, are quoted in Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature*, &c. from Dr. Winchester's Dissertation on the 17th article.

"Tandem igitur ubi adfuit plenum illud tempus ac dies a domino præordinata, adstitit coram Messias ille tot retro sæculis exoptatissimus: atque idem ille omnia cumulate præstitit quæ erant ad OMNIUM redemptionem necessaria. Neque vero intra unum Israelem tantum illud vereficum stetit, cum potius ad UNIVERSUM HUMANUM GENUS usque porrigendum esset: quia per unum Christum UNIVERSUM HUMANUM GENUS reconciliandum erat deo, uti his novi fœderis tabulis continetur et amplissime demonstratur."

Again:

"Ad istam Hæreditatem (regni paterni scilicet) vocamur OMNES

hundred crowns of gold, for the entire impression, which is beautifully executed in a small secretary-gothic type, in folio.[62]

The great Reformer, CALVIN, is said to have had a considerable share in the translation or revision of this Bible, but to have withheld his name, for fear of persecution, and to have published the work in the name of ROBERT PIERRE OLIVETAN, his kinsman. But although it is probable that Calvin assisted in the translation, it is inconsistent with his well known intrepidity of character, as well as with his approbation, expressed in his preface, and his afterwards publishing a revised edition, to suppose that fear occasioned him to suppress his name. We therefore consider Olivetan as the true translator, or editor of this version, which appears to have been formed from that of Le Fevre, and of which he avowed himself to be the author. BONNADVENTURE DES PERRIERS, valet de chambre to the queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I., has also been named as assisting Olivetan and Calvin in the translation; but it is not to be supposed that these excellent men would employ, in this important undertaking, a man who was the author of an impious allegorical work, entitled *Cymbalum Mundi*, in which, under pretence of ridiculing the search after the philosopher's stone, he is said to have attacked religion in general; a work which called forth the censures both of catholics and protestants, and caused Calvin to class him with Govean and Rabelais, as one of a trio of atheists. Des Perriers killed himself with a sword, in a paroxysm of fever, in 1544.[63]

This celebrated edition of the French Bible was printed

SINE PERSONARUM ACCEPTATIONE, Masculi, Fœminæ, Summi, Infimi, Heri, Servi, Magistri, Discipuli, Doctores, Idiotæ, Judæi, Græci, Galli, Romani. NEMO HINC EXCLUDITUR, qui modo Christum, qualis offertur a Patre in salutem omnium admittat, et admissum complectatur." See Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books*, III. p. 21.

(62) Dibdin's Biblioth. Spencer. I. pp. 82. 84.

(63) Bibliotheques Françoises, I. pp. 90, 91.

at the expense of the *Vaudois*, or Waldenses. Clement relates, that in a copy of this version, which Mr. Jordan saw in the possession of Mr. De Boze, he met with the following acrostic verses at the end, which prove this singular fact:

Lecteur entends, si Verité addresse,
Viens donc ouir instamment sa promesse
Et vif parler : lequel en excellence
Veult assurer notre grelle esperance.
L' Esprit *Jesus* qui visite, et ordonne
Nos tendres meurs, ici sans cry estonne
Tout haut raillant escumant son ordure,
Remercions éternelle nature :
Prenons vouloir bien-faire librement ;
Jesus querons veoir eternellement.

To perceive the design of these lines it must be remarked, that the first letters of the words form this tcoup e,

Les Vaudois, Peuple Evangelique,
Ont mis ce Thresor en publique.

"The Vaudois, that evangelical people, have given this treasure to the public."

"This," adds Clement, "is, I conceive, the principal reason of the *rarity* of this edition. The Vaudois having transported the greater part of the impression into their vallies, a considerable number of copies have been destroyed, not only by use, but especially by the flames, and by a thousand similar methods, the natural consequences of the repeated persecutions raised against them by a blind and indiscreet zeal."[64]

A second edition of the Olivetan version was printed at Geneva, in 1540, in small quarto. De Bure attributes the revision of it to Calvin, as appears by the following notice of it in his *Bibliographie Instructive*:

"La Sainte Bible, en laquelle sont contenus tous les Livres canoniques de l' Ecriture Sainte et pareillement des

(64) Clement, Bibliotheque Curieuse, IV. p. 7. note (3).

Apocryphes, le tout translaté en Langue Françoise, de la version de Robert Pierre Olivetan, revue par Jehan Calvin; avec l' Indice des matieres, ordonné par N. Malingre, Prêcheur du S. Evangile. *(Geneve, a l' Epée)* 1540, *in* 4*to*." De Bure farther remarks, that the representation of a *sword*, on the title-page, has occasioned this edition to be known in the republic of letters by the name of the *Sword Bible, (Bible de l' Epée.)*[65]

By others the correction of this edition has been attributed to *Martin Bucer*, but without sufficient authority.[66] Le Long says, that the first edition which Calvin revised, was published in 1545, at Lyons, in 4to.[67] Beside these, several other editions were published by *J. de Tournes* and others, as may be seen by referring to Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, tom. I. cap. iv. pp. 345—353. edit. Paris, 1723, fol.

Robert Pierre Olivetan, the translator of this version, was related to Calvin, who assisted him in his translation. His true name was Olivetau, but having assumed the name *Olivetanus* in Latin, he was usually called *Olivetan*. His translation was transcribed for the press by an amanuensis, called *Joannes Eutichus Deperius*, whom M. de la Monnoye supposes to be the same with Bonaventure, or Bonnadventure des Perriers, but from the reasons adduced above, we believe, erroneously. Olivetan died at Rome, in 1538, not without strong suspicion of being poisoned.[68]

John Calvin, the kinsman of Olivetan, and his coadjutor in publishing the French Bible, was born at Noyon, in Picardy, July 10th, 1509. His real name was Cauvin, or Chauvin, which according to the practice of the learned of his day, he latinized into Calvinus. He was originally de-

(65) De Bure, Bibliog. Instruct.—Vol. de Theologie, pp. 79, 80.
(66) Le Long, I. p. 345.
(67) Ibid.
(68) R. de Juvigny, Bibliotheques Françoises, II. p. 315.

signed for the church, and after having pursued his studies at Paris, Orleans, and Bourges, with rapid and amazing success, had actually obtained the rectory of Pont l' Eveque, when he was induced, by the preference given by his father to the study of the law, and especially from the change which had taken place in his religious views, through his intercourse with his relative, Robert Pierre Olivetan, to relinquish his ecclesiastic vocation in the church of Rome, and devote himself to the profession of the law. In 1532, he published a commentary on Seneca *De Clementia*, in which he first adopted the name of CALVINUS. The persecution raised against the protestants, obliged him to quit Paris, from whence he withdrew to Angouléme, where he assumed the name of *Parcan;* but not considering himself safe, he removed to Ferrara, where the duchess graciously received him, and promised him protection. Here he bore the name of *Happeville*, or *Heppeville.* Returning to Paris, he found the persecution still raging with so much violence against those who differed from the Romish church, that he deemed it prudent to quit France altogether. He therefore retired to Basle, where he completed and published his famous *Institutes of the Christian Religion.* In 1536, he was chosen professor of divinity, and minister of the church of Geneva; but his refusal to administer the Lord's Supper to the people, on account of the immorality of their conduct, occasioned the council of two hundred to banish him the city, and to order that he, with two other ministers, should leave it within two days. From Geneva he went to Strasburg, where he established a French church, of which he became the first pastor, and was also chosen professor of divinity. Here he also married, in 1540, *Idolette De Bure*, the widow of an anabaptist minister. In 1541, he was recalled with honour to Geneva, and there passed the rest of his days in such universal esteem and influence, that his opponents termed him the *Pope of Ge-*

neva. This eminent reformer died May 27th, 1564, aged 54 years, and 10 months.[69]

A *French* version of the PSALMS, or rather of a part of them, by *Clement Marot*, claims particular notice, not so much for its intrinsic excellence, as for its being the foundation of the psalmody adopted in the ritual of the reformed churches; and in its popular reception, strongly exhibiting the levity of the French court and nation. The author, CLEMENT MAROT, was a native of Cahors, in Querci, near Toulouse, and born in 1495. Like his father Jean Marot, he was valet de chambre to Francis I.; and also page to Margaret of France, wife of the duke of Alençon. He accompanied this prince to the seat of war, 1521, and was wounded and made prisoner at the battle of Pavia. On his return to Paris, he was accused of heresy, and thrown into prison, and being brought before the *Lieutenant-criminel*, was reproached with his former irreligion, and the licentiousness of his writings, and all that he could obtain by the most earnest solicitations, was to be removed from the obscure and unwholesome prison of Chatelet, to that of Chartres. In this state of confinement, he wrote his *Enfer*, a severe and pointed satire, and revised the celebrated *Roman de la Rose.* He was kept in prison till after the deliverance of Francis I. from Spain, in 1526, when he obtained his liberty; but was afterwards obliged to flee to Geneva, from whence he passed to Turin, where he died in indigence, in 1544.

Clement Marot was the favourite poet of France, and in the early part of his life was eminent for his pastorals, ballads, fables, elegies, epigrams, and poetical translations. But after his return from Ferrara into France, he was persuaded by the advice of Vatablus, professor of Hebrew in the university of Paris, to attempt a version of David's

(69) R. de Juvigny, Bibliotheques Françoises, I. pp. 467—469.
Those who are desirous of seeing a fuller account of this great man, may consult Melchior Adam's *Vitas Theologorum Exterorum Principum*, p. 63.

PSALMS into French rhymes. In this attempt, he was assisted by Francis Melin de S. Gelays, and other learned men, from whose *prose* translations he formed his poetical version. His first edition contained only 30 psalms, and was dedicated to Francis I. After his removal to Geneva, he proceeded in his work till he had completed 20 more psalms, which, with the former 30, and 8 more, the translators of which were never well known, were printed at Rome, in 1542, by the command of the pope, by Theodore Drust, a German, printer in ordinary to his holiness. This edition was printed in the Gothic character, in octavo. The rest of the psalms were versified by BEZA, at Geneva. The translation, however, was censured by the faculty of divinity at Paris, who proceeded so far as to carry their complaints to the king, who for some time paid but little attention to them, and even expressed his satisfaction with the specimen which had been given of the translation, and pressed the completion of the work. Marot, gratified by the countenance of his sovereign, transmitted to him the following epigram:

Puisque voulez que je poursuive, ô SIRE,
L' œuvre royal du PSEAUTIER commencé
Et que tout cœur aimant Dieu le desire,
De besogner ne me tiens dispensé.
S' en sente donc, qui voudra offensé;
Car ceux à qui un tel bien ne peut plaire
Doivent penser, si jà ne l' ont pensé,
Qu' en vous plaisant me plait de leur deplaire.

"Since, O Sire, it is your pleasure that I pursue the royal work of the PSALMS which I have begun; and since all those who love God desire the same, I reckon I have a valid license to proceed in it. Wherefore, let whoever pleases take offence at it, for they who cannot be reconciled to a design of such important use, ought to know, if they are not sensible of it already, that while I do your majesty a pleasure, I am glad, however much I offend such people."

At length, the repeated remonstrances of the clergy to

the king, against Marot's version, caused it to be prohibited. But the prohibition only increased the desire to possess the Psalms thus interdicted. They were sold so rapidly, that the printers could not supply the public with copies; and it is a singular trait in the history of the times, that they soon became the most popular songs that were sung by all ranks of society; they were the common accompaniments of musical instruments, and every one sang them to the tune which he pleased. At the court of Francis, each of the princes and nobility selected a Psalm, and sang it to the ballad tune, that each of them preferred. The dauphin, prince Henry, who delighted in hunting, was fond of *Ainsi qu' on oit le cerf bruire; As the hart panteth after the water-brooks*, which he constantly sung in going out to the chase. The queen's favourite was, *Ne veuilles pas, O sire; O Lord! Rebuke me not in thy wrath*, which she sung to a fashionable jig. Antony, king of Navarre, sung, *Revenge moy, pren le querelle; Stand up, O Lord, to revenge my quarrel*, to the air of a dance of Poitou.[70]

Beside the poetical dedication to Francis I. Marot accompanied his version with an Epistle *Aux Dames de France*, "To the Ladies of France," in which he declares, in a spirit of religious gallantry, that his design is to add to the happiness of his fair readers, by substituting divine hymns in the place of amorous ditties, to inspire their susceptible hearts with a passion in which there is no torment, to banish that fickle and fantastic deity CUPID from the world, and to fill their apartments with the praises of the true JEHOVAH.

The Psalms translated by Beza, and versified in imitation of Marot's, were favourably received, and like Marot's were sung by catholics as well as others, who never suspected any injury from them, till they were appointed to be sung in the Calvinistic congregations,

(70) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, III. pp. 161—163.

in 1553, and began to be appended to the catechisms of Geneva. But after this, the use of them was absolutely forbidden by the catholic authorities, and the former prohibitions were renewed and enforced by severe penalties.

About this period, Calvin, by the advice, it is said, of Luther, had projected a species of religious song, consisting of portions of the *Psalms*, intelligibly translated into the vernacular language, and adapted to plain and easy melodies which all could learn, and in which all might join, and which would serve as a substitute for the antiphonal chanting of the Romish services, in the public worship of God. This scheme for the adoption of *congregational* singing, was forwarded by the publication of Marot's metrical psalms, which Calvin immediately introduced into his congregation at Geneva. Being set to simple, and almost monotonous notes, by Guillaume de Franc, and other celebrated composers, they were soon established among the churches of the reformed, and became a characteristical mark of the Calvinistic profession and worship. They exhilarated their social assemblies, were commonly heard in the streets, and accompanied the labour of the artificer, so that the weavers of Flanders became noted for their skill in the science of psalmody. Bayle says, that 10,000 copies of these psalms, in verse, and set to music, were at that time printed, and very generally dispersed. Florimond de Remond objected to the music of Marot's psalms that the airs of some of them were borrowed from vulgar ballads; to which the Sieur de Pours replied, that what used to belong to profane songs was now separated from them, and was become in a measure sanctified. "In ancient times," he adds, "things that were of common use, even though taken as plunder, when they were with proper rites separated and sequestered for the service of the sanctuary, were counted holy:" and whatever judgment we may form of the mode of adopting popular tunes in public worship,

it is certain, that in this instance, the effect was rapid and beneficial, the attention of the multitude was gained to the doctrines of the Reformation, and gave them an extensive circulation and influence.

This version being, at length, become obsolete and barbarous, the church of Geneva, which had been the first to adopt it, was the first to abandon it. M. Conrart began the revision, and M. de la Bastide completed it. For some time the reformed churches hesitated to adopt the revised version, but it was afterwards introduced into Geneva, Hesse Cassel, and various other places.[71]

The interdiction of singing Marot's metrical version of the Psalms, was a small part of that persecution which raged about that time, against all who dared to differ from the church of Rome, or who attempted to circulate the Holy Scriptures. One or two instances of the severity with which those were treated who sold or dispersed the Sacred Volumes, will exhibit in its true light, the antipathy of superstition to Gospel truth.

At Avignon, the bishop of Rieux gave a banquet to the bishop of Aix and other prelates engaged in the violent persecution of the inhabitants of Merindola, to which the most beautiful women were invited. After the banquet, the company amused themselves with dancing, playing at dice, and similar dissipative pleasures; after which the prelates, with each a female leaning on his arm, walked up and down the streets, to pass the time till supper, when seeing a man offering obscene pictures and songs to sale, they purchased the whole of his stock, "as many as a mule could well carry." With these they entertained their female companions, at the expense of all modesty and gravity, and with most indecent levity, explained the

(71) Les Pseaumes de David mis en rime françoise, Par Clement Marot et Theodore Beze. Sedan, 1630, 8vo.
Nouveau Dictionaire Historique, VI. pp. 44, 45.
Bibliotheques Françoises, I. p. 156.
Gen. Dictionary,—Bayle, art. *Marot*, notes N. P. pp. 465—469.

difficult sentences which occurred in them. In the course of their walk through the city, they also met with a bookseller, who had exhibited for sale certain *Latin* and *French Bibles*. The prelates, indignant at his heretical boldness, sternly asked him, "Darest thou be so bold as to set out such merchandise as this to sell, in this town? Dost thou not know that such books are forbidden?" The bookseller answered, "Is not the Holy Bible as good as those goodly pictures which you have bought for these gentlewomen?" Scarcely had he spoken the words, but the bishop of Aix said, "I renounce my part of Paradise, if this fellow be not a Lutheran. Let him be taken and examined." Immediately a company of ruffians, who attended on the prelates, began to cry out, "a Lutheran,—a Lutheran; to the fire with him,—to the fire with him;" whilst one gave him a blow, and another pulled him by his hair, and a third plucked him by the beard, so that the poor man was covered with blood, before he reached the prison to which they were dragging him.

The next day he was brought before the judges, and examined in the presence of the bishops. Being asked, "hast not thou set forth to sale the *Bible* and the *New Testament* in *French;*" he honestly acknowledged that "he had done so." It was then demanded of him, "whether he did not know and understand, that it was forbidden throughout all Christendom, to print or sell the Bible in any language except Latin?" To which he replied, "that he knew the contrary to be true; and that he had sold many *Bibles* in the French tongue, with the emperor's privilege in them, and many *others* printed at Lyons, and also *New Testaments* printed by the king's privilege;" and added, that "he knew no nation throughout all Christendom, which had not the Holy Scriptures in their vulgar tongue." He then courageously addressed them in the following terms: "O ye inhabitants of Avignon, are you alone in all Christendom, the men

who despise and abhor the Testament of the Heavenly Father? Will ye forbid and hide that which Jesus Christ hath commanded to be revealed and published? Do you not know that our Lord Jesus Christ gave power to his apostles to speak all manner of tongues, to the end that his holy Gospel might be taught to all creatures, in every language? And why do you not forbid those books and pictures, which are full of filthiness and abomination, and which stir up the people to whoredom and uncleanness, and provoke God's vengeance and great indignation against you? What greater blasphemy can there be, than to forbid God's most holy books which he ordained to instruct the ignorant, and to reduce and bring again into the way such as have gone astray? What cruelty is this, to take away from the poor simple souls, their nourishment and sustenance! But, my lords, you shall give a heavy account, who call sweet sour, and sour sweet, and who countenance abominable and detestable books and pictures, but reject that which is holy." The bishops, enraged by these words, violently exclaimed, "What need have you of any more examination? Let him be sent straight to the fire, without any more words." But Liberius, the judge, and some others, who conceived that the prisoner had done nothing worthy of death, proposed the adoption of a milder sentence, wishing only to have him fined, and to acknowledge that the bishop of Aix and his companions were the true pastors of the church. This the pious and intrepid bookseller refused, saying, that "he could not do it with a good conscience, since he had an instance before his eyes, that these bishops countenanced filthy books and abominable pictures, rejecting and refusing the holy books of God, and he therefore judged them rather to be priests of Bacchus and Venus, than the true pastors of the church of Christ." On this refusal, the bookseller was immediately condemned to be burnt; and the dreadful sentence was

executed the very same day. As a token of the cause of his condemnation, *two Bibles* were hung about his neck, one of them before, and the other behind, and he was thus led to the place of execution. Such, however, was the firmness of his mind, and the Divine support that he experienced, that with undaunted earnestness he continued to exhort the multitude, as he passed on the way to execution, to read the Holy Scriptures; and with such effect, that several became inquirers after truth.

The death of the pious bookseller created considerable emotion among the inhabitants of the city, who not only murmured at the execution of the excellent man who had suffered, but were indignant at the contempt which the prelates had shown for the Scriptures. The bishops, therefore, in order to silence the people, caused a proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, throughout the whole city and country, "that all those who had any books, in the French tongue, treating upon the Holy Scriptures, should bring them forth, and deliver them into the hands of the commissioners appointed for that purpose, under pain of death if any such books should be afterwards found about them."[72]

Another who suffered for the sake of the Gospel was *Peter Chapot*, corrector of the press to a printer at Paris. Having been at Geneva, he returned into France, with a number of copies of the Scriptures. These he dispersed among those of his own persuasion. But his zeal cost him his life; for being apprehended, on the information of John Andre, a bookseller, he was condemned, and afterwards strangled and burnt. This was at Paris, in 1546.[73]

The dreadful cruelties thus exercised on the advocates of truth and the friends of the Bible, did not entirely suppress all efforts to give publicity to the unadulterated

(72) Fox's Actes and Monumentes, II. pp. 190, 191.
(73) Ibid, II. p. 133.

Word of God: for some were still found whose noble exertions, in the cause of Sacred literature, demand the grateful acknowledgments of posterity. Of these, beside those already noticed, the family of the STEPHENSES, the learned printers, were the most famous. The history of them has been written by the industrious Maittaire, and his *Historia Stephanorum* presents them to us, not as mere mechanical artists, but as the great patrons of literature, and ranking among the most learned men of the age in which they lived; a period extending from the early part of the sixteenth century to the commencement of the seventeenth, and during which they published, beside almost innumerable classical and grammatical works, of many of which they were the authors as well as printers,—45 editions of the *Bible*, in different languages, 3 editions of *Concordances*, and 48 editions of *Commentaries* by various authors. HENRY, the first of these celebrated printers, printed the *Quintuplex Psalter* of Le Fevre, in 1509, the *first* publication in which the verses of the Scriptures were distinguished by *numerical figures*. He died at Lyons, A. D. 1520. His widow married COLINÆUS, another Parisian printer of eminence, and the first after Erasmus who published an edition of the *Greek New Testament*, corrected from MSS. This edition was printed at Paris, in 1534, in 8vo. Henry Stephens left three sons, *Francis*, *Robert*, and *Charles*, all of whom lived in great reputation as learned men and excellent printers, but as *Robert* was the great Biblical scholar, we shall principally confine ourselves to a short biographical sketch of him, as being the most connected by his labours with the history and circulation of the Scriptures.

ROBERT STEPHENS, the son of Henry, was born at Paris, in 1503. After obtaining a learned education, he was received into the printing-office of his father-in-law Colinæus, and for some years assisted in editing the works published by that excellent printer. Afterwards

he commenced business for himself, and married the daughter of Jodocus Badius, who spoke the *Latin* with nearly as much facility as the *French*, being particularly suited for the wife of one, who occasionally entertained ten learned men in his family, as editors and correctors of his press, who constantly conversed with each other in *Latin*. In 1528, he published an edition of the *Latin Bible*, in folio, *cum privilegio regis*, corrected from the best MSS. he could procure of the Vulgate version, as well as from the Polyglott Bible of Cardinal Ximenes, and from all the other printed editions which he could obtain. He particularly specifies two MSS. which he met with in the library of *St. Germain des Prez*, one of them of great age, and most accurately written; and another which he found in the library of St. Denis; and remarks, that he began the collation of them in 1524. He published a second edition in fol. in 1532, *cum privilegio regis*; and a third in 8vo. in 1534. These editions were excelled, however, by one which he published in 1543, in fol. the typography and paper of which are remarkably good; and which is rendered peculiarly valuable by the *various readings*, given in the margin, of a considerable number of MSS. and printed editions, with correct references to the MSS. or editions in which they occur. He was assisted in it by *William Fabricius*, a canon of Poitou, who was well versed in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages. It was printed with the king's privilege, *cum privilegio regis*. Our learned printer also published a *Hebrew* Bible in 4to. which he completed in 1544; and a beautiful small sized edition, in 1546, in 8 vols.

In 1545, he printed another edition of the *Latin Bible*, in folio. The Vulgate and Zurich versions were placed in parallel columns, and accompanied with scholia or short notes, explaining the Hebraisms and other critical difficulties. Several of the notes were what had been taken

down, during the public lectures of *Vatablus* the Hebrew professor, at the request of Robert Stephens, by Bertinus le Comte, and this edition has therefore obtained the name of "Vatablus's Bible." He also published editions of the *New Testament*, with similar notes, in 12mo. 1541, 1543, and 1545. The *Notes* which accompanied these editions being ascribed to Vatablus by the editor, occasioned him great uneasiness, and at length became the occasion of his quitting Paris, and removing to Geneva. For Stephens having printed, along with the notes of the professor, "Remarks" of his own, which were tinctured with the doctrines of the Reformation, Vatablus denied being the author of the notes; and the doctors of the Sorbonne unanimously condemned these editions, and adjudged them to be suppressed, and placed in the number of prohibited books. The divines of Louvain appear to have been the first to censure the edition of 1545, though it had been printed with the king's permission, and to publish a catalogue of the errors contained in it. Francis I. in a letter dated October 27th, 1546, forbade the doctors of Paris to imitate those of Louvain in this instance, but ordered them to revise this Bible, and collect the errors, "that they might be printed at the end of every book." The Parisian divines, dissatisfied with the decision of Francis I. afterwards presented several petitions to his successor, Henry II. who at length yielded to their request, and addressed a letter to them, bearing date, November 25th, 1547, to this effect: "Dear and well-beloved, having deliberately weighed and considered the remonstrances that you have exhibited to us, on the account of the Bibles printed by R. Stephens, and not being willing, by any means, to tolerate or permit any thing that tends to divert our subjects from the right catholic way,—we therefore require you to put the said Bibles in the catalogue of censured and prohibited books, if you find in them any

errors that render the reading of them offensive and pernicious, notwithstanding any letters that we may have formerly issued to the contrary." The booksellers opposed these proceedings, and insisted that a catalogue of the errors should be placed at the beginning of every book, in the form of *errata;* but their opposition was disregarded, and the *Bibles* and *New Testaments* of *Robert Stephens* were placed in the number of prohibited books. The *censure* of the doctors of the Sorbonne, is thus copied by F. Simon.

"Anno Domini 1548, die 15, mensis Maii, Sacra Theologiæ Facultas post Sacrosanctæ de Sancto Spiritu Missæ celebrationem apud S. Matthurinum sacramento fidei convocata, perlectis et animadversis erroribus contentis in Bibliis Roberti Stephani excusis anno 1528, 1532, 1534, 1540, 1545, et 1546, nec non in Novis Testamentis per eundem impressis annis 1541, 1543, 1545, ac etiam in Psalterio seu libro Psalmorum Davidis cum annotationibus ex Hebræorum commentariis seorsim excuso; denique in indicibus editis annis 1528, 1532, 1540, et 1546, communi omnium calculo conclusit prædicta Biblia, Nova Testamenta, Psalterium seu Librum Psalmorum, cum annotationibus ex Hebræorum commentariis, et indices dictorum Bibliorum juxta designatum sui temporis annum ob errores in iis contentos et hæreses suppressione digna, atque in communem librorum reprobatorum catalogum reponenda."

"It must be acknowledged," says F. Berthier, "that in this doctrinal judgment, Robert Stephens was treated with severity. For although many parts of his works inculcated what was erroneous" (i.e. according to the views of the Roman Catholic churches,) "yet others were capable of a more favourable construction. But at that period the slightest appearance of heresy was dreaded."

Pierre du Chatel, or Castellanus, the learned bishop of Macon, who had formerly assisted Erasmus, had been one

of the correctors of Froben's press, for some time defended the cause of Robert Stephens, fearing lest the censure of our laborious printer should injure literature generally; "but unfortunately," adds F. Berthier, "he could not conceal the heresy which influenced his heart."

After the death of Francis I. and the censure passed upon his editions of the Scriptures, Robert Stephens withdrew to Geneva, where he published an *Apology*, in defence of himself, against the censures of the doctors of the Sorbonne; and continued to publish a variety of learned works till his death, which happened in that city, in 1559. His property he devised to that son who should continue to reside at Geneva. He left three sons, *Henry*, *Robert*, and *Francis*, and one daughter.

Beside his Biblical works, he published valuable editions of many classical authors, and *a Dictionary of the Latin tongue*, in 4 vols. fol.—a work of immense labour and erudition. Of this work, entitled *Thesaurus Latinæ Linguæ*, editions have been since printed at Lyons, Leipsic, Basle, and London.[74]

The great historian Thuanus, or De Thou, has passed a merited eulogium on this ingenious and learned printer. "Not only France," says he, "but the whole Christian world, owes more to him, than to the greatest warrior that ever extended the possessions of his country; and greater glory has redounded to Francis I. by the industry alone of Robert Stephens, than from all the illustrious, warlike, and pacific undertakings in which he was engaged."[75] And that Francis I. was sensible of the importance and celebrity of R. Stephens, was evidenced by the patronage with which he honoured him, appointing him his printer

(74) Maittaire, Historia Stephanorum, *passim*. Lond. 1709, 8vo.
Nouveau Dict. Hist. III. art. *Etienne, (Robert.)*
Longueval, Hist. de l' Eglise Gallicane, continuée par G. F. Berthier, XVIII. pp. 485—488. Paris, 1749, 4to.
Simon's Crit. Hist. of Versions of N. T. pt. ii. ch. xi. pp. 100—104.

(75) Monumenta Litteraria, ex Hist. Thuani, p. 70. Lond. 1640, 4to.

and librarian, and causing matrices to be engraved at his own expense, for the founding of beautiful Greek and Hebrew types. These matrices, which were most probably presented to him by his royal patron, as a token of his approbation and esteem, are said to have been carried to Geneva by R. Stephens, and afterwards to have been reclaimed from the Genevese, and a large sum to have been paid for them, by Louis XIII. But the latter part of this story is regarded as dubious by the authors of the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique.*

The obligations of France, and the Christian world in general, to this learned French printer, will be best appreciated, as it respects the services rendered to Christianity, by the following list of his Biblical publications, extracted from Maittaire's *Historia Stephanorum*, tom. II. pars. ii. pp. 85—95. The remarks on them are chiefly from Dr. Clarke's *Bibliographical Dictionary.*

1. *Editions of the Scriptures in the Original Languages.*

Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum.....4to. 1544.

Idem.....12mo. 1546.

Novum Testamentum Græcum fol. 1550.

"A most beautiful and magnificent edition, published with various readings from fifteen MSS. besides those of the *Complutensian* edition." Bib. Dict.

Idem.....12mo. 1546.

"This is what is termed the *O mirificam* edition. Stephens's preface begins thus: *O mirificam Regis nostri optimi et præstantissimi Principis liberalitatem*, &c. The person he refers to is Francis I.—A most beautiful edition." Bib. Dict.

Idem.....12mo. 1549.

"Some assert that this is precisely the same as the former, with a change of the *date* only." Bib. Dict.

"R. S. printed two Greek New Testaments,—with the same preface, one in 1546, in which there are a few faults, corrected in the *Errata*, at the end; the other in 1549, which is the best, and the most rare. The booksellers call them *O mirificam*, from the preface, which R. S. began in that manner, from the obligation he was under to Francis I. for the *punches* and *matrices* fabricated for the purpose of enabling him to print the Greek in a beautiful manner, with a small type." See Chevillier, *De l' Origine de l' Imprimerie de Paris*, pt. ii. ch. iii. p. 142.

2. *Versions.*

Biblia Latina.....fol. 1528.
Eadem.....fol. 1532.
Eadem.....fol. 1540.
"The best edition." Bib. Dict.
Eadem.....fol. 1546.
Eadem.....8vo. 1534.
Eadem.....8vo. 1555.
Eadem, juxta Veter. et Nov. T. Translat.....fol. 1557.
Containing the *Vulgate* and *Zurich* Versions.
Eadem.....8vo. 1545.
Nov. Test. Græcé cum Veter. et Nov. Lat. Vers...8vo. 1551.
"The *first* edition divided into verses, which was done by Stephens in the course of a journey from Paris to Lyons; and *inter equitandum*, surely NOT *on horseback*, as most have interpreted the words, but *during the journey*; i. e. as frequently as he stopped to refresh his horse, like an indefatigable student who had not a moment to lose, but employed those intervals in preparing this edition for the press. And though it is said to have been *carelessly done*, yet probably not one of those who have criticised the undertaking, would have made a *first essay*, on the same subject, less imperfect." Bib. Dict.
Idem Latiné.....8vo. 1541.
Idem Latiné.....12mo. 1543.
Idem Latiné.....12mo. 1545.
La Bible.....fol. 1553.
Les Pseaulmes tant en Latin qu' en François....8vo. 1552.
Proverbes, Ecclesiaste, Cantique, Sapience, Ecclesiastique.....8vo. 1552.
Le Nouveau Testament 12mo 1560.
Le meme tant en Latin qu' en François.....8vo. 1552.

3. *Concordance and Indexes.*

Concordantiæ Latinæ utriusque Testamenti.....fol. 1555.
Hebræa et Chaldæa Nomina Propria.....4to. 1549.
Hob. Chald. Græca et Latina Nomina Propria, Index rerum ac sententiarum. 8vo. 1537.

4. *Jewish and Christian Commentaries.*

Prophetæ quinque, Osee cum Thargum.....4to. 1556.
Kimchi in Habacuc....4to. 1559.
Libri Mosis quinque cum Annot.....4to. 1541.
Idem cum Calvini commentariis.....fol. 1559.
Genesis cum Calvini commentariis.....fol. 1554.
Buceri Comment. in Judic. Psalm, Sophon.....fol. 1554.
Calvini Comment. in Psalmos. fol. 1557.
Liber Psalmorum cum annotationibus ex Hebræorum Comment.....8vo. 1546.
Cantica Bibliorum cum annot. ex Hebr. Comment...8vo. 1546.
Liber Psalmorum, cum annot. Vatabli ex Hebr. Comment. 8vo. 1556.
Psalmi, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Canticum cum brevibus annotat.....4to. 1528.
Comment. in Matth. Marc. Luc.....fol. 1553.
Glossæ in tres Evangelistas, cum Calvin. Comment. adjecto seorsim Joanne..fol. 1560.
Harmonia ex trib. Evang. ad-

jecto seorsim Joanne, cum Calvin. Comment.....fol. 1555. (Reprinted).....1560.
Buceri Enarrationes in quatuor Evangelistas.....fol. 1553.
Harmonia Evangelica Osiandri .....fol.
Eadem.....12mo. 1545.
Annotationes in eandem 12mo. 1545
Calvini Commentarii in Joannem .....fol. 1553.
Idem in Acta Apostolorum fol. 1555.
Idem in omnes Epistolas. fol. 1556.
Idem in Pauli Epistolas. fol. 1557.
Decem Præcepta, et Scripturæ summa, utraque singulis foliis.....1540.
Summa totius Sacræ Scripturæ Decem Dei verba....8vo. 1542.
Sommaire en forme d' exposition du contenu es Pseaumes.....8vo. 1552.
Claire declaration du contenu au Vieil et Nouveau Testament.....8vo. 1552.
Exposition continuelle sur les Evangelistes.....fol. 1554.

In addition to these works which were strictly Biblical, he published, *Justini Martyris Opera, Græcé,* fol. 1551; *Eusebii Præparatio Evangelica, Græcé,* fol. 1544; *Eusebii Demonstratio Evangelica, Græcé,* fol. 1545; *Calvini Institutiones,* fol. 1553, 1559; *Calvin's Catechism,* in *Hebrew,* 1554, in *Greek,* 1551, and in *French,* 1553; with other works of a similar nature.

These strenuous exertions to promote the knowledge of the Scriptures, could not fail to draw down upon him the vengeance of a bigoted and superstitious hierarchy, whose security lay principally in ignorance. The *heresy,* as it was called, of the Stephenses, was their unpardonable crime. "We should give," says Chevillier, "to the Stephenses, Robert, and Henry his son, unqualified and unreserved praise, if, with their great abilities, and all the honour acquired in the art of printing, they had not quitted the Catholic religion, and embraced the novelties of Calvin."—"Nous donnerions aux Etiennes, Robert, et Henri son fils, la louange entiere et sans aucune reserve, si avec leur grande capacité, et tout l' honneur qu' ils ont acquis dans l' art d' imprimerie, ils n' avoient point quitté la religion catholique, pour suivre les nouveautez de Calvin." [76]

Maittaire, in his *Annales Typographici,* has given

(76) Chevillier, De l' Origine de l' Imprimie de Paris, part iii. cap. ii. p. 260.

copies of the *Catalogues of Books*, printed by the Stephenses, and the *Prices* which they affixed to their publications. From them the following prices of some of their Bibles are taken.[77]

	Solidi		Solidi
Biblia Hebræa, mediocri formâ 1544, 4to.....	100	Vetus Testamentum, parva formâ..1525, 12mo.....	14
Biblia magno volumine, 1540, fol.....	60	Novum Testamentum, parva formâ..1525, 12mo.....	6
Biblia, parvo volumine, 1545-8,	45		

In the same year (1547) that Henry II. ordered the faculty of theology at Paris to examine the Bibles published by R. Stephens, he issued the following inquisitorial edict, respecting all religious publications printed or sold by the French booksellers.

"We forbid all booksellers and printers, under pain of confiscation of body and goods, to print, or cause to be printed, to sell, or publish, any books concerning the Holy Scriptures, or those which have been brought from Geneva, Germany, and other foreign countries, unless they have first been seen and examined by the faculty of theology of Paris: nor may any printer or bookseller sell, or expose to sale, any books of Holy Scripture with comments or scholia, except the name and surname of the author be expressed or placed at the beginning of the book; and also the name and sign of the residence of the printer: nor may any printer print in secret or hidden places, but in his proper office, in some public place, that every one may be answerable for the works he prints. We also forbid all persons of whatsoever rank or condition to retain in their possession any books mentioned in the *Catalogue of Books*, condemned by the said faculty of theology."

Prior to the issuing of this edict, the parliament of Paris had, in 1542, charged all printers and booksellers,

(77) Maittaire, Annales Typographici, II. pars ii. p. 472.

I have given the prices in *Solidi*, agreeably to Maittaire, who says, "Denarii sive numi 12, solidum constituunt; solidi autem 30, Florenum *Germanicum*." *ut sup.* p. 412.

under great penalties, not to print, publish, or sell, any books that were condemned or suspected; and afterwards, at the request of the inquisitor, made a decree, that the people should be admonished from the pulpit, to be obedient to the church; and if they knew any Lutheran, or any one who thought amiss of religion, they should present him, for that would be a work very acceptable to God. A form of inquiry was prescribed to the curates and ministers of the church, by which they were to examine the informers, in order to obtain evidence against persons suspected of heresy; some of the heads of inquiry were, whether the accused persons had maintained,—that it was necessary for all men, whatever their rank or situation, to understand the Gospel;—that all men ought to read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue;—that it was an idle thing for common people to pray to God in Latin, &c.? This form of inquiry was enjoined for the private use of the priests; but there was also a mandate published, whereby all were commanded to inform against, and accuse those who neglected the rites and constitutions of the church; who had heretical books themselves, or gave them to others to read, or purposely dropped them in the streets that they might be dispersed; who kept private meetings in houses, or gardens, and framed designs contrary to the constitutions of the church; or who received such persons into their houses or gardens; and those who were privy to any such thing, were commanded, under pain of excommunication, to present all such persons, within six days, to the doctors of divinity chosen by the inquisitor. Booksellers were likewise charged to bring, within six days, all the suspected manuscripts and books, in their possession, to the aforesaid doctors, which if they did not, no excuse was afterwards to be admitted.[78]

(78) Bochelli Decreta Eccles. Gallican. lib. i. Tit. 10, pp. 96, 97. Paris, 1609, fol.
Sleidan's Hist. of the Reformation, B. xiv. pp. 296, 297.

This spirit of persecution was not only exercised by the adherents of the Romish church, but infected even those who were resisting the papal authority, and enduring the privations of intrepid defenders of the Gospel. The fate of MICHAEL SERVETUS, who was burnt to death by a slow fire, is an awful instance of the truth of this remark. The history of this learned and unfortunate man is well known. He was born at Villanueva, in Arragon, in 1509, but was educated at Paris, where he took the degree of doctor in medicine. The singularity and boldness of his opinions created him enemies, he therefore left Paris, and went to Lyons, where he was employed by the *Frelons*, who were eminent printers, as corrector of the press. From Lyons he removed to Charlieu, and from thence to Vienne, at the request of *Peter Palmer*, archbishop of that city, who honoured him with his friendship, and gave him an apartment in his palace. His literary connections led him to make frequent visits to Lyons, where he revised an edition of Pagninus's *Latin* translation of the BIBLE, which was printed in folio, 1542, by Caspar Trechsel, for Hugo de la Parte. Servetus accompanied the text with scholia or notes, in which he defended a number of Socinian positions; and prefixed a preface, in which he concluded that the prophecies of Scripture have no reference to Christ, but in a secondary sense. For this work he is said to have received 500 livres from the booksellers who employed him. His *Notes on the Bible*, and his other anti-trinitarian writings, caused him to be arrested and imprisoned at Vienne. He, however, escaped out of prison; and designing to settle at Naples, and exercise his profession of medicine, imprudently visited Geneva in disguise. Calvin no sooner heard of his arrival than he denounced him to the magistrates as an impious man, and a propagator of doctrines dangerous to salvation. In consequence of Calvin's representation he was imprisoned, and afterwards, being brought to trial, was

condemned to be burnt alive. The dreadful sentence was executed October 27th, 1553. "He was upwards of two hours in the fire, the wood being *green*, *little* in quantity, and the wind unfavourable." The Roman Catholics, as might naturally be expected, have endeavoured to justify their conduct in burning heretics, by the instance of Servetus. But their arguments are thus refuted by a learned writer of far different doctrinal sentiments from those of Calvin. "There is," says he, "a most essential difference between this infamous act of the Genevan reformer and magistrates, and the bloody persecutions maintained by the Catholics. The catholic religion *systematically* prescribes and enjoins the *burning* of those which it chuses to call *heretics;* the protestant religion, far from enjoining, abhors and detests it. The *spirit* which led Calvin to burn Servetus, he brought with him out of the Catholic church, from which he was then scarcely disentangled. Protestants of all sects and parties abhor, detest, and abjure his conduct in this business. For Protestantism, as well as the religion of Christ, loudly proclaims that all those who take away a man's life merely for heterodoxy in religion, are of their father the devil, who was a murderer from the beginning."[79] Whilst, however, we cannot but regret that any of the reformers should have retained the persecuting spirit of the Romish church, from which they were scarcely yet emancipated; it is cause of gratulation, that their views of the necessity and importance of vernacular translations of the Scriptures, were clear and decisive, and accompanied with unwearied exertions to disseminate the Word of life.

To these views, the friends of popery in SPAIN, presented a singular and striking contrast; for while Luther, Zuingle, Tyndall, and others, were indefatigably employed in executing and circulating translations of the Bible, Loyola and Xavier were engaged in confirm-

(79) Clarke's Bibliog. Dict. VI. pp. 82—85.

ing and extending the influence of the papacy, the former by instituting the order of JESUITS; the latter by visiting and promoting the interests of the Catholic church, in the EAST. IGNATIO, or IGNATIUS LOYOLA, a Biscayan nobleman, born in 1491, was introduced at an early age into the service of Ferdinand V. in quality of page to the king; but afterwards embracing a military life, was dangerously wounded at the siege of Pampeluna, in 1521. During the progress of a lingering cure, he amused himself with reading the "Lives of the Saints," having in vain enquired for romances, as more suited to his taste and genius. The effect of his reading, on his active and resolute mind, was a desire to emulate the characters he had been studying. Being cured of his wounds, he retired to the monastery of Montserrat, and commenced a series of the most severe penances and mortifications; but none of these produced that peace of mind which he earnestly sought. "He found no comfort," says his biographer, "in prayer, no relief in fasting, no remedy in disciplines, no consolation from the sacraments, and his soul was overwhelmed with bitter sadness." "He apprehended some sin in every step he took, and seemed often on the brink of despair; but he was in the hands of him whose trials are favours. He most earnestly implored the divine assistance, and took no sustenance for seven days, till his confessor obliged him to eat. Soon after this, his tranquillity of mind was perfectly restored, and his soul overflowed with spiritual joy." Illiterate and ardent, Loyola yielded implicit obedience to the most superstitious dictates of those whom he regarded as his spiritual guides; and signalized himself by his austerities and blind devotion to the interests of the Roman catholic church. After visiting Jerusalem, and fruitlessly attempting a course of study at Barcelona, he repaired to Paris, where finding several others of dispositions congenial with his own, he resolved, with his associates, to offer himself to the pope, to be

employed by him in whatever situation or country he pleased. He and his companions having presented themselves at Rome, they were, after some objections by a committee of cardinals, appointed to examine their design, instituted as a religious order by Pope Paul III., September 27th, 1540, under the title of "The Society of Jesus," whence the denomination. "*Jesu-ists*, or *Jesuits*. This society has been well described as, "the most political and best regulated of all the monastic orders; and from which mankind have derived more advantages, and received greater injury than from any other of those religious fraternities." An excellent account of this extraordinary and politic institution, is given by Dr. Robertson, in his "History of the reign of Charles V." vol. III. B.vi. The entire submission of the order to the pope formed one of its principal features, for beside taking the three vows of poverty, chastity, and monastic obedience, the members of it took a fourth vow of obedience to the pope, *binding themselves to go whithersoever he should command for the service of religion, and without requiring any thing from the holy see for their support.* Of the zeal with which this society was animated, we may judge, when we are informed, that, "under the auspicious protection of John III. king of Portugal, he (Loyola) sent St. Francis Xavier into the East Indies, where he gained a new world to the faith of Christ: that he sent John Nugnez, and Lewis Gonzales, into the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, to instruct and assist the Christian slaves; in 1547, four others to Congo, in Africa; in 1555, thirteen into Abyssinia; and lastly, others into the Portuguese settlements in South America." Loyola, died in 1556, in the 65th year of his age, after having lived to see his society spread over almost the whole world, and possessing above one hundred colleges.[80]

(80). Butler's Saints, VII. July 31, pp. 403—442. Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. II. B. ii. pp. 155, 156; III. B. vi. pp. 171—190.

Francis Xavier, called by the Roman catholics, "the Apostle of the Indies," was of a noble Spanish family; and born in Navarre, at the castle of Xavier, in 1506. He was the early and faithful friend and disciple of Ignatius Loyola, with whom he became acquainted at Paris, in the year 1528; and was one of the members of the order of Jesuits, at the time of its formation. In 1540, he sailed for the Indies, as the legate or nuncio of the pope, and landed at Goa on the 6th of May, 1542. His labours as a missionary are said to have been crowned with distinguished success, not only in Travancore, the island of Ceylon, the islands of the Moluccas, &c. but also in Japan, and the adjacent islands. He was preparing to visit China, by obtaining leave to accompany the ambassador of the king of Siam, when he was seized with a fever, which terminated his life, on the 2nd of December, 1552.[81] The only works which he composed, for the instruction of his catechumens, if we except his "Letters," were, *A Catechism* in the *Malabaric* or *Tamul* tongue, still in use among the Catholics on the coast of Coromandel; and an *Epitome of Christian doctrine*, in *Portuguese*. The Sacred Scriptures therefore appear to have formed no part, or at least a very inferior part, of the source of the instructions of this celebrated Catholic missionary.[82]

Occupied in riveting the chains of papal superstition on the people, the theologians of Spain were much more inclined to suppress than to encourage the reading of the Scriptures, and were far more ready to anathematize the reader, and imprison the translator of them, than to exhibit and enforce the pure and inestimable doctrines which they contained. *Francis Enzinas*, who published a *Spanish* translation of the New Testament, in 1542, 8vo. was obliged to have his translation printed out of the kingdom, at Antwerp; and he himself was thrown into

(81) Butler, XII. December 3, pp. 17—58.
(82) Nic. Antonio, Biblioth. Hisp. I. p. 381.

prison, from whence he escaped, after an imprisonment of fifteen months. He dedicated his translation to the Emperor Charles V.—F. Simon says, that copies of this edition were become so rare in his day, that he could not obtain the sight of one; for which he assigns this reason, that "the rigour of the inquisition, which was predominant in those countries, had destroyed them." Le Long, however, appears to have been more fortunate, and observes, that after having compared two other Spanish translations with that of Enzinas, he found them to be nearly the same, except some few corrections and alterations; and therefore considers the character given by F. Simon, of the translation subsequently published by *Philadelphus*, or *Perez*, as justly due to Enzinas's translation. F. Simon's words are, "In his translation he observes a mean between those that are too literal, and those that are too licentious; and adheres to his text, yet without being obscure, for he adds what is necessary to be supplied to render it intelligible, and to avoid leaving the sense uncertain; but he does not always mark these additions in the italic character, and does not maintain an uniformity therein. I am inclined to believe that he has rather translated from the versions that were composed from the *Greek* text before him, than from the original. He has included between two crotchets, certain words which are not extant in the *Greek*, to the end that there might be nothing obscure in his translation, or, as he explains it, 'to preserve the idiom of the language; and for the better understanding of that which is read." This translation was placed with other versions in the *Expurgatory Index* of the Romish church.[83]

Francis Enzinas, or D' Enzina, born at Burgos, in Spain, about A. D. 1515, is known also by the name of

(83) Simon's Crit. Hist. of the Versions of the N. T. pt. ii. ch. xli. pp. 344, 345, 346.
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacr. I. p. 364. Paris, 1723, fol.

Dryander. In France he took the name of *Du Chesne*, and by the Germans he was called *Eyck*, *Eycken*, or *Eyckman*. Marchand has a dissertation on these names. He was imprisoned at Brussels for his attempt to present his countrymen with the New Testament in their own tongue, from November 1543, to February 1st, 1545, when, finding the doors of his prison open, he made his escape, and went to his relations at Antwerp. About three years afterwards he visited England, as we learn from a letter of introduction from Melancthon to Cranmer. About 1552, Melancthon gave him a similar letter to Calvin. The time of his death is not known. He wrote a *History of the state of the Low Countries, and of the religion of Spain;* printed at Geneva, in 8vo. This work, which is extremely rare, forms part of the *Protestant Martyrology* printed in Germany. It was written in Latin, and was afterwards translated into French. His brother *John Dryander*, who had embraced Lutheranism, was burnt at Rome, as an heretic, 1545.[84]

A *Spanish* version of the PENTATEUCH, or *Five Books of Moses*, was printed by the Jews at Constantinople, in 1547, fol. It formed part of a *Polyglott edition of the Pentateuch*, which contained the *Hebrew* Text, with *Spanish* and *Modern Greek* versions; and was accompanied with the *Targums* of Onkelos, and R. Solomon Jarchi. It was printed by Eliezer Berab Gerson, of a family who had removed from Soncino, in Italy, to Constantinople.

AMBROSE DE MONTESINO, a Spaniard, of the order of St. Francis, and bishop of Sardinia, also published, in 1512, a *Spanish* translation of the EPISTLES and GOSPELS, appointed to be read in the churches during

(84) Nic. Antonio, Biblioth. Hisp. I. p. 322.
Nouveau Dict. Hist. III. p. 443.
Chalmers' Gen. Biog. Dict. XII. pp. 215, 216.

the year. It was reprinted at Antwerp, in 1544, 8vo.[85]

In ITALY, the cultivation of letters, under the patronage of several of the Roman pontiffs, particularly those of the family of the Medici, had produced more liberal views, and several editions of the old *Italian* version of the Scriptures were printed by the *Giunti*, or *Junti*, the celebrated printers of Venice, Bernard Bindoni, and others. BRUCIOLI and MARMOCHINO also published *new* translations of the Bible. Brucioli's translation of the NEW TESTAMENT was printed at Venice, by Luc. Anton. Giunti, 1530, 8vo. The first edition of his translation of the *whole* BIBLE, was printed by the same printer, at Venice, 1532, fol., with numerous and elegant wood-cuts, forming a rare and magnificent volume. But the most ample and valuable edition of this Bible, is one with Notes, printed at Venice, 1544—1547, 7 *tomes*, in 3 vols. fol. with various dedicatory epistles. To the first edition of his *Bible*, Brucioli prefixed an *Epistle*, dedicated to Francis I. king of France, in which, after having discoursed at large concerning the Messiah, he adds, "that it is esteemed as a reproach to a philosopher not to know the principles of his sect, whilst we Christians do not consider the ill consequences of not understanding the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel." He also prefixed to his version of the *New Testament*, another epistle inscribed to the same prince, in which he severely censures those who condemn translations of the Bible in the vulgar tongue; treats them as hypocrites, and persons endued rather with the spirit of the devil, than with that of God, and who in this oppose Christian charity; accounts those persons as impious, who presume to contradict that which the Holy Ghost had declared by the mouth of the prophets and apostles; and avers, that if they had even diligently perused the books of Moses,

(85) Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. i. ch iii. p. 394.
Le Long, I. p. 363; et *Index. Auctor*, p. 571. Paris, 1723.

they would not persist in a diabolical malignity so contrary to Christian charity." Beside this general view of the sentiments contained in these epistles, which I have given from F. Simon, Clement quotes the following passage, cited by Mr. Beyer, to show the conformity of Brucioli's views with those of the reformers: "Et perche adunque, &c." "Ah! why then should it not appear proper for every one to pronounce the Gospel in his native tongue? as the Italian in Italian; the Frenchman in French; the Englishman in English; the German in German; and the Indian in Indian. Neither can I tell, why it does not appear ridiculous to every one, that men and women should, like parrots, repeat their prayers and psalms in the Latin and Greek tongues, without understanding what they say, and without deriving any mental edification from them, but which they would derive, were they written in their own language." - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

"After this can we wonder," inquires Clement, "that our translator should have an honourable place in the *Index Librorum prohibitorum et expurgandorum* of Sandoval, Panorm. 1628, fol. p. 8, col. 2, or that he should figure among the condemned authors of the *first class?* And also in the *Index Lib. prohib. et expurg.* de Sotomajor, Madrit. 1640, in fol. p. 20, col. 2. To which may be added the *Index Lib. prohib. et expurg.* of Alexander VII. *juxta exemplar excusum Romæ*, 1667, in fol. p. 7. col. 2; and the *Index Lib. prohib. et expurg.* of Innocent XI. *Romæ*, 1681, in 8vo. p. 14, and all the subsequent editions."

Brucioli professes to have translated from the Hebrew and Greek originals, but this has been doubted, and Pagninus's Latin version is said to have been the true source of his translation: most probably he followed Pagninus, only comparing his version with the original texts. The popularity of Brucioli's translation having occasioned several pirated and depraved editions, he de-

termined to acknowledge none as genuine, but those printed by his brother *Francis Brucioli*, which has consequently rendered those editions peculiarly valuable, and extremely rare.[86]

Our translator FRANCIS BRUCIOLI was a native of Florence, and born about the close of the fifteenth century. In 1522 he expatriated himself, and fled to France, to avoid the consequences of having entered into a conspiracy with several of the citizens of Florence, against Cardinal Julius de Medici, afterwards pope under the name of Clement VIII. A revolution having taken place in that city in 1527, and the *Medici* having been driven from it, Brucioli was permitted to return. But the freedom with which he censured the monks and priests, again involved him in difficulties. He was suspected of holding the opinions of the reformers, and was thrown into prison, from whence he only escaped with his life, through the intercession of his friends, who obtained a commutation of his sentence, and he was banished for two years. Molinæus, (*Collat. Evang.* p. 142) says, that he was condemned "to speak neither good nor evil of God!" After his release from prison, he retired to Venice, where his brothers were printers and booksellers; and where he published the greater part of his works. Beside his *Bible*, he published translations into the Italian, of Pliny's *Natural History*; and of several works of *Aristotle* and *Cicero*; editions of *Petrarch* and *Boccace*; *Dialogues*, &c. According to the testimony of Peter Aretin, he was well versed in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and Latin languages. The time of his death is uncertain: Julio Negri (*Hist. Scrip. Florent.* p. 36) says it happened about 1550; but the editors of the *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* remark, that he was still living in the year 1564, and that

(86) Clement, Bibliotheque Curieuse, &c. IV. pp. 52—54.
Simon's Crit. Hist. of the Versions of N. T. pt. ii. pp. 340, 341.
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacr. I. p. 355.

consequently his decease must have occurred after that period.[87]

SANTI MARMOCHINO, or SANCTES MARMOCHINUS, a learned Dominican, an Italian by birth, who died about A. D. 1545, published a translation of the BIBLE into *Italian*, in 1538, fol. which was printed at Venice by the heirs of Luc. Anton. Giunti; and dedicated to George d'Armaignac, bishop of Rondes and Vabres. This translation includes the third book of *Maccabees*, then first printed in Italian. Le Long decides that Marmochino's translation is only a revised edition of Brucioli's, accommodated more fully to the Vulgate; and Clement remarks, "It is no wonder that Marmochino completed this version in the space of twenty-two months, since he has only altered the translation of Brucioli, by collating it with the Vulgate." Editions of this translation were also printed at Venice, in 1542, 1546, and 1547, &c. and the New Testament separately, in 1542. The edition of the New Testament was published under the name of *F. Zachariah*, a Dominican friar of Florence.[88]

PETER ARETIN, a licentious Italian poet, translated the book of GENESIS, and the SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS, of which several editions were published. JOHN FRANCIS DEL POZZO, or PUTEOLANUS, also published an *Italian* version of the PSALMS and ECCLESIASTES, printed at Venice, 1537, 4to. An edition of Erasmus's *Latin* version of the NEW TESTAMENT, with an *Italian* translation, was printed at Venice, 1545, in 2 vols. 16mo.; and the APOCALYPSE, in *Italian*, with a commentary by N. GILBERT, was published at Milan so early as 1520, in fol.[89]

(87) Nouv. Dict. Hist. II. p. 276.
Colomesii Ital. et Hisp. Oriental. pp. 59, 60.
(88) Clement, Bibliotheque Curieuse, IV. p. 54, 55.
Juntarum Typog. Annales, pt. i. pp. 17.—19.
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. I. p. 356. et Index. p. 569.
(89) Le Long, I. p. 358.

The publication of editions of the Scriptures either in the original languages, or in more modern versions, was not confined, however, to those states in which Christianity was the acknowledged religion of the land, since we find the Jews who had been driven by persecution to take refuge under infidel governments, establishing printing presses in various places, particularly at CONSTANTINOPLE and THESSALONICA. In 1522, *Samuel ben David Nachmias*, a celebrated printer of Constantinople, published the *Hebrew* PENTATEUCH, MEGILLOTH, AND HAPHTAROTH,* with the *Targums* and *Jewish Commentaries*, in fol. In 1546, a *Polyglott* PENTATEUCH, in fol. was printed in the same city, by *Eliezer Berab Gerson Soncinatis*. It contained the *Hebrew* Text, the *Targum* of Onkelos, the *Persic* version of R. Jacob F. Joseph Tavos, or Tusensis, the *Arabic* version of Saadias Gaon, and the rabbinical *Commentary* of *Rashi*, or R. Solomon ben Jarchi. The book of EXODUS of this Polyglott, bears date 1545. In 1547, there was another Polyglott PENTATEUCH published from the same press, with the *Hebrew* Text; the old *Spanish* version for the refugee Spanish Jews; the *modern Greek*, as used by the Caraïtes of Constantinople, who do not understand Hebrew; and the *Targum*, and *Commentary*, as in the former editions.

In 1516, the PENTATEUCH and MEGILLOTH, in *Hebrew*, with the *Targum* and Rabbinical *Commentary*, were printed at Thessalonica; in 1517, JOB, in *Hebrew* and *Chaldee*; in 1522, and several times subsequently, the PSALMS, in *Hebrew*, with Rabbinical *Commentaries*; and in 1535, the *Prior* PROPHETS, (as the Jews denominate *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Samuel*, and *Kings*,) with the *Commentary* of R. Kim-

* The *Megilloth* is the term applied by the Jews to that portion of the Sacred Writings which includes *Ruth*, *Esther*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Lamentations*, and *Solomon's Song*: the *Haphtaroth* are 54 chapters or lessons selected out of the *Prophets*, and read in the synagogues by the Jews, on their sabbaths and other festivals. See Kennicott's *Dissertations*, Diss. 2, pp. 517, 518.

chi.[90] Le Long *(edit. Masch)* mentions some few other portions of the Hebrew Scriptures published by the Jews of Constantinople and Thessalonica, about the same time.

The most celebrated printer and publisher of *Hebrew* books at that period, and who has seldom or never been equalled since in the extent and magnitude of his Hebrew publications, was DANIEL BOMBERG, a native of Antwerp. He settled at Venice, where he commenced business. Having learnt Hebrew of *Felix Pratensis*, a converted Jew, he printed several editions of the Hebrew Bible, the most celebrated of which were those which he published with the Targums, Rabbinical Commentaries, and Masorah. The *first* edition of Bomberg's GREAT, or RABBINICAL BIBLE, was commenced in 1517, and finished on the 27th of Nov. of the ensuing year, 1518. This edition, however, was not held in estimation by the Jews, on account of what they regarded as the apostacy of the editor, Felix Pratensis. Another and improved edition, in 4 vols. fol., was published by Bomberg in 1525—1526, who employed *R. Jacob ben Chaim*, a learned Jew, of Tunis, as editor. A still more ample and complete edition was printed by him in 1547—1549, 4 vols. fol. under the inspection of *Cornelius Adelkind*, another erudite Jew, with a curious preface by the former editor Jacob ben Chaim, of which a Latin translation is given in Kennicott's *Dissertations on the state of the printed Hebrew Text*, Diss. II. pp. 229—244. Oxon, 1759. Dr. Adam Clarke *(Gen. Pref. to Comment.* p. iv.) characterises *this* edition as "the most useful, the most correct, and the most valuable Hebrew Bible ever published." In 1520, Bomberg began an edition of the TALMUD, which he finished after some years, in 12

(90) De Rossi, De Ignotis Editionibus, &c. cap. xii. xiii. pp. 19—23; et Append. pp. 33—40. Erlangæ, 1772, 4to.
Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. i. cap. iii. pp. 393, 394; and pt. i. cap. i. sec. 2, pp. 119. 137. 145, &c.

vols. fol. This he reprinted twice, and each edition is said to have cost him 100,000 crowns. As a printer, he was highly zealous for the honour of his art, spared no cost in embellishments, and is said to have retained about 100 Jews as correctors of his press, the most learned he could find. In printing only, he is thought to have expended in the course of his life, four millions, others say three millions of gold crowns; and Vossius seems to think, that he injured his fortune by his liberality. He died at Venice, in 1549.[91]

But Bomberg was not the only Christian who engaged in publishing *Hebrew Bibles*: the Stephenses of Paris, the Giunti of Venice, Frobenius of Basil, and others of less note, printed various editions, though none of them can be compared with Bomberg for the number of impressions which issued from his press, or the general services which he rendered to Hebrew literature.

A pretty correct idea may be formed of the progress of Biblical typography, during the early part of the sixteenth century, from the following list of editions of the *whole* or *parts* of the Holy Scriptures, printed between A. D. 1500 and A. D. 1536, compiled chiefly from Panzer's *Annales Typographici*, viz:

1 Polyglott Bible.
10 ——— Psalms.
1 ——— Isaiah.
1 ——— Jonah.
2 Rabbinical Bibles.
8 Hebrew Bibles.
12 ——— Pentateuch, some of them with the *Targum*, &c.
1 ——— Genesis.
1 ——— Exodus.
2 ——— Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings; with Com. Kimchi.
1 ——— Ibid. Com. Is. Abrabanel.
2 Hebrew Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Twelve Minor Prophets; with Com. Rab.
2 ——— Esther; with Rab. Com.
1 ——— Job; ———
8 ——— Psalms.
1 ——— with Rab. Com.
1 ——— Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel; with Jarchi's Com.
1 Hebrew and Latin Psalms.
2 ——— Seven Penitential Psalms.
1 ——— Psalm ix.
1 Heb. Comment. on Psalm cxix.

(91) Simon, Hist. Crit. du V. T. pp. 574, 575.
Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. i. cap. i. sec. 2, pp. 96—103.
Chalmers' Biog. Dict. VI.

2 Hebrew Proverbs.
1 Proverbs; Hebrew and Latin.
2 Proverbs, Solomon's Song, Ecclesiastes; Heb. and Lat.
1 Ecclesiastes; Heb.
1 Solomon's Song; Heb. and Lat.
1 Ruth and Lamentations; Heb.
1 Jeremiah and Lamentations; Heb.
2 Daniel; Heb.
1 Joel and Daniel; Heb.
1 Joel and Malachi; Heb.
1 ——————— Heb. with Kimchi's Com.
3 Obadiah; Heb.
3 Tobit; Heb.
1 ——— Heb. and Lat.

6 New Testament, Greek.
6 ——————— Gr. and Lat.
1 Romans; Gr.
1 St. Paul's Epistles; Gr.
1 Galatians; Gr.
1 Colossians; Gr.

3 Old Testament, LXX. Version, and New Testament; Gr.
3 Psalms, ——————— Gr.
1 Seven Penitential Psalms; Gr.

99 Bibles; Latin.
2 ——— with Cardinal Hugo's Comment. Lat.
4 ——— De Lyra's Com. Lat.
1 ——— Pagninus's Trans. Lat.
1 Old Testament, Erasmus's Trans. Lat.
1 Pentateuch; Lat.
1 Pentateuch, Joshua, Ruth, Judges, Kings, and New Testament; Lat.
4 Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth; Lat.
2 Genesis; Lat.
2 Deuteronomy; with Luther's Annot. Lat.
1 The Historical Books; Lat.
1 Ruth and Lamentations; Lat.
1 Kings, Chronicles, Esther, and Job; Lat.
3 Job; Lat.

44 Psalms; Lat. several of them with Notes.
1 Seven Penitential Psalms; Lat.
1 Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Solomon's Song; Lat.
2 Books of Solomon; Lat.
1 Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Solomon's Song, Wisdom; Lat.
12 Proverbs; Lat.
8 Ecclesiastes; Lat. some with Notes
2 Solomon's Song; Lat.
2 Prophets, and Maccabees; Lat.
2 Micah, with Notes; Lat.
1 Zephaniah; Lat.
1 Tobit; Lat.
1 Jesus Sirach; Lat.
62 New Testament; Lat.
1 ——————— (except Apocalypse;) Lat.
6 The Four Gospels; Lat.
5 The Gospels and Epistles; Lat.
1 All the Epistles; Lat.
1 St. Paul's Epistles; Lat.
1 St. Paul's and Canon; Epistles; Latin.

15 Bibles; Belgic.
6 Gospels and Epistles; Belgic.
34 New Testament; Belg. and Lat.
3 Psalms; Belg. and Lat.

7 Psalms; German and Latin.
1 Seven Penitential Psalms; Germ. and Lat.
2 New Testament; Germ. and Lat.

1 Bible; Spanish.
1 Gospels and Epistles; Spanish.
1 Epistles and Gospels; Spanish.

2 Psalms; Swedish.
1 New Testament; Swedish.

1 Gospels and Apocalypse; Lat.
1 Matthew; Latin.
3 Acts; Lat.
3 The Epistles; Lat.
1 Epistles and Apocalypse; Lat.
7 St. Paul's Epistles; Lat.
2 Romans; Lat.
1 I. and II. Corinthians; Lat.

1 Galatians; Lat.
3 Catholic Epistles; Lat.
1 Apocalypse; Lat.

12 Bibles; Italian.
2 Job; one with Comment. Ital.
9 Psalms; Ital.
3 Seven Penitential Psalms; Ital.
1 Proverbs; Ital.
1 Ecclesiasticus; Ital.
3 New Testament; Ital.
7 Evangelists and Epistles; Ital.
1 Epistles and Gospels; Ital.
1 Apocalypse; Ital.

1 Bible; Bohemian.

1 Pentateuch; Danish.
1 Judges; Danish.
3 Psalms; Danish.
2 New Testament; Danish.
2 Epistles and Gospels; Danish.

4 Bibles; French.
1 Old Testament; French.
7 Gloss. Bible Historiée; French.
3 Psalms; French.
11 New Testament; French.
1 Four Evangelists; French.
2 St. Paul's Epistles; French.
1 Psalms; French and Latin.

1 Four Evangelists; Hungaric.

1 Bible; English.
1 Pentateuch and New Testament; English.
1 Isaiah, with Pentateuch; Eng.
1 Jeremiah and Song of Moses; Eng.
2 New Testament; Eng.

1 Psalms and Solomon's Song; Ethiopic.[92]

This account presents us with no fewer than 568 editions of the entire Scriptures, or portions of them, in different languages, printed in the space of 36 years; thus preparing the way for that most happy Reformation, and that increased circulation of the Word of God, which so soon followed. It is also probable, that during the period selected by Panzer for his *Annals of Typography*, there were many printed editions of the whole or parts of the Sacred Writings, of which he had not obtained information, as in the instance of the number of impressions of the *English* Scriptures, which he has stated to be 6, instead of 23, the number noticed by English writers. See Bishop Newcome's *Historical View of the English Biblical Translations*, pp. 387, 388, 411; and Bishop Wilson's Bible, edited by C. Cruttwell, vol. I. *Editor's Preface.*

(92) Panzeri Annales Typographici, XI. pp. 156—172. 552.

CHAPTER VI.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY CONTINUED.

Council of Trent. Decrees. Rules of the Index. Francis Foreiro. John Hentenius. Louvain Bible. Francis Lucas Brugensis. John Benedict. Isidore Clarius. Papal edition of the Latin Vulgate. Sixtus V. Editors of the Vulgate.

THE rapid progress of the Reformation, and its influence upon the councils of several of the German and other princes, alarmed the court of Rome, which, after various fruitless expedients to prevent the dissemination of opinions, fatal to the despotic authority of the Catholic hierarchy, adopted the measure of a general council. The ostensible motives for summoning the council were, the reformation of ecclesiastical abuses, the preservation of the unity of the church, and the prevention of the spread of the Lutheran heresy; but the decrees of the council proved, that ambition, and not religion, influenced the pontiffs by whose authority it was called and continued. At first, the pope was inclined to appoint the council to meet in some city of Italy; but finding the design opposed by the Catholic as well as the Protestant princes, he empowered his nuncio, at the diet of Spires, held March 3rd, 1542, to propose for the place of meeting TRENT, a city in the Tyrol, subject to the king of the Romans, and situated on the confines between Germany and Italy. This being acceded to by the Catholic princes, though protested against by the Protestants, Pope PAUL III. by a bull dated May 22nd, 1542, appointed three cardinals as his legates, and fixed the council to be opened at Trent, on the 1st of November, in the same year.

The legates, who were *Johannes Maria de Monte*, *Marcellus Cervinus*, and *Reginald Pole* an Englishman, accordingly repaired to that city, but after remaining there for several months, without any person attending, except a few prelates from the ecclesiastical states, the pope recalled the legates, and prorogued the council. After various delays, the GENERAL COUNCIL was at length opened with the usual solemnities, on the 13th of December, 1545. The first session was spent in matters of form. A subsequent one was employed in framing a confession of faith. The fourth session, held on the 8th of April, promulgated decrees respecting the *Canonical Scriptures, the Vulgate edition of the Bible*, and the *use of the Sacred Books*. The publication of these decrees was preceded by a Latin sermon, preached before the council, by Augustin Bonuccio, general of the order of the Servites, who in a violent invective uttered against Luther, represented him as a false disciple, and an impious corrupter of the Word of God, who pretended to establish by the Gospel what was diametrically opposed to it, and who led with him, a crowd of people armed with swords and staves, to teach doctrines which could only have been inspired by flesh and blood. The following are the decrees of the session:

"1. Of the Canonical Scriptures."

"The holy œcumenical and general council of Trent, lawfully assembled under the influence of the Holy Spirit, the three legates of the apostolic see presiding in it; having constantly in view, the preservation of the purity of the Gospel in the church, by the removal of error, which having been promised aforetime by the prophets in the Sacred Scriptures, was first promulged by the mouth of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and afterwards by his apostles, whom he commanded to preach it to every creature, as the fountain of all truth respecting salvation and discipline; and considering that this truth and

discipline are contained in written books, and in unwritten traditions, which having been received by the apostles from the lips of Jesus Christ himself, or dictated to them by the Holy Spirit, have been handed down to us; this holy council, following the example of the orthodox Fathers, receives and venerates with equal piety and reverence, (pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia,) all the books of the Old and New Testaments, the same God being the author of them both; and also the Traditions relative to faith and manners, as being either received from the mouth of Jesus Christ, or dictated by the Holy Spirit, and preserved in the Catholic church by an uninterrupted succession. In order, therefore, that no one may doubt which are the Sacred Books that are received by the council, the following catalogue of them is inserted in the present decree:"

"These are, of the OLD TESTAMENT, the five books of Moses, viz: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; Joshua; Judges; Ruth; four books of Kings; two books of Chronicles; the first book of Ezra, and the second which is called Nehemiah; Tobit; Judith; Esther; Job; the Psalter of David, containing 150 Psalms; Proverbs; Ecclesiastes; Song of Solomon; Wisdom; Ecclesiasticus; Isaiah; Jeremiah with Baruch; Ezekiel; Daniel; the twelve minor Prophets, viz: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; the first and second books of Maccabees.—Of the NEW TESTAMENT, the Four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the Apostles, written by the Evangelist Luke; fourteen Epistles of the blessed Apostle Paul, viz: to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, two to Timothy, to Titus, to Philemon, to the Hebrews, two Epistles of the Apostle Peter, three Epistles of the Apostle John, one Epistle of the Apostle

James; and the Apocalypse of the Apostle John."

"But if any one refuses to receive the whole of these Books with every part of them, as they are read in the Catholic church, and contained in the ancient edition of the Vulgate Latin, as sacred and canonical; or knowingly and deliberately despises the Traditions before mentioned, let him be anathema."

2. "Of the edition and use of the Sacred Books."

"The holy council considering that it will be of no small utility to the church of God, to distinguish among all the Latin editions of the Sacred books that are in circulation, which is the one that ought to be regarded as *authentic*, ordains and declares, that the same ancient and Vulgate edition, which has been approved by its use in the church for so many ages, shall be received as authentic, (pro authentica habeatur,) in all public lectures, disputations, preachings, and explications; and that no one, under any pretext whatsoever, shall dare or presume to reject it."

"Moreover, in order to restrain petulant spirits, the council decrees, that in matters of faith and morals, and whatever relates to the maintenance of Christian doctrine, no one, confiding in his own judgment, shall dare to bend the Scriptures to his own sense of them, contrary, to that which is given, or has been given by the holy mother church, whose right it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; or contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers, though such interpretations should never be published. Those who oppose shall be denounced by the ordinaries, and subjected to the punishment of the law."

"Being desirous also, as is reasonable, of setting bounds to the Printers, who are at present unrestricted, thinking that they have a right to do whatever they please, not only printing without the permission of their ecclesiastical superiors, the books of the Holy Scriptures themselves,

with the notes and explications indifferently of any one, but frequently without mentioning the place where they are printed, or else affixing a false one, and what is still worse, suppressing the names of the authors, and also rashly exposing to sale in other countries, printed books of this nature; the holy council decrees and ordains, that the Holy Scriptures shall be printed in the most correct manner possible, according to the old and Vulgate edition, and that no one shall be suffered to print any books relating to religion, (de rebus sacris,) without the name of the author; and that for the future also, no one shall have them in his possession, nor sell them, without being first examined and approved by the ordinary, under pain of anathema, and pecuniary fine, according to the canon of the last council of Lateran: and if they be *Regulars*, they shall obtain, beside this kind of examination and approval, permission from their superiors, who shall examine them, agreeably to the form of their statutes. Those who circulate or publish them in manuscript, without being examined and approved, shall be subjected to the same penalties as those who shall print them; and those who possess them or read them, and do not declare who are the authors of them, shall themselves be considered as the authors. The approbation granted to books of this nature, shall be given in writing, and be placed in due form, at the head of each book, whether MS. or printed, and the whole, that is, both the examination and approbation, shall be done gratuitously, that what is deserving may be approved, and what is unworthy may be rejected."

"The holy council being wishful also to repress the (impious) temerity of applying and perverting the words and sentences of Holy Scripture, to all sorts of profane uses, making them serve for railleries, vain and fabulous applications, flatteries, detractions, superstitions, impious and diabolical incantations, divinations, *Sortes*, and

infamous libels, commands and ordains, in order to abolish this kind of irreverence and contempt, and to prevent any one for the future, from daring to abuse the words of Scripture, in the same or any similar way, that all these kinds of persons shall be punished by the bishops, according to the penalties of the law, and at the discretion of the said prelates, as profaners and corrupters of the Word of God."[1]

After several other sessions had been held at Trent, the Council was removed to Bologna, where the 9th session of the council was held on the 21st of April, 1547. The 10th session was held in the same city on the 2nd of June, in the same year; after which the council was prorogued. Pope Paul III. dying before the council was resumed, his successor, JULIUS III. issued a bull in the first year of his pontificate, for the reassembling of the council at Trent, which met accordingly in the following year, 1551. At the close of the 16th session, held in 1552, the council was suspended, on account of the confusion and danger occasioned by the war. This suspension was continued for several years, until at length the council was again convened by Pope PIUS IV. who had succeeded Julius III. in 1555; and agreeably to the bull of the pontiff, assembled at Trent early in the year 1562. Letters having been received from the pope, and read to the council, requesting the assembly to compose an INDEX of prohibited books, the legates were requested to appoint a committee, or deputation, to undertake the work, and prepare the decree for the ensuing session. The persons selected for this undertaking were *George Draskowitz*, bishop of Five-Churches, a city of Tolna, in Hungary, nephew of Cardinal Martinusius,*

(1) Labbei S. S. Concilia, XIV. pp. 746—748.

* Cardinal *Martinusius*, bishop of Varadin, refusing to enter into the views of the Emperor Ferdinand, who wished him to betray the interests of his country, Hungary, was basely assassinated by the emperor's order. See Fra Paolo Sarpio, *Hist. du Conc. de Trente*, Liv. 4.

and ambassador from the emperor for the kingdom of Hungary; *John Jerom Trevisan,* patriarch of Venice; four archbishops; nine bishops; one abbot; and two generals of orders, viz. of the Friars Minors of Observance, and of the Augustins. But notwithstanding this appointment of a committee, it was agreed that the *Index* should not be read till the end of the council, for fear of offending the Protestants.

The cause of this request from the pope to the council, is thus related by the candid and intelligent historian of the council. After Pope Leo X. had condemned Luther, and prohibited the reading of his books under pain of excommunication, other popes followed his example, he having been the first who not only excommunicated the *authors* but also the *readers* of heretical works. The vague and general manner, however, in which heretical writings were condemned, produced confusion; being distinguished by the doctrines they contained rather than by the names of the authors, and every one judging of the doctrines according to his peculiar views. To remedy this defect, the exact and diligent inquisitors formed catalogues of such books as came to their knowledge, and were suspected of containing false doctrine: but these catalogues not being compared with each other, the design was not answered. The king of Spain was the first who adopted a more eligible plan, ordering a catalogue of the books, prohibited by the inquisition of Spain, to be printed, in 1558. Pope Paul IV. following his example, enjoined the office of the inquisition at Rome to prepare and print a similar catalogue or *Index.* This was executed in 1559; but as this Index extended the inhibitory decrees of the pontiff and inquisition to many works which had been formerly allowed, and had even received the approbation of preceding popes; and condemned, without distinction, all the books printed by sixty-two printers whose names were expressly mentioned,

an appeal was afterwards made to Pope Pius IV. who embraced the opportunity of referring the business to the council assembled at Trent.

The 18th session of the council was held on the 26th of February, 1562, when the letters were read from the pope, referring the making of the *Index* to the council. Afterwards, the patriarch of Jerusalem read the decree, framed by the committee, relative to the catalogue of prohibited books. This decree, after declaring the design of the council to be, to promote purity of doctrine and discipline, and establish the unity of the church; and lamenting that many "suspicious and dangerous" books had been multiplied in an extraordinary manner, without any effectual remedy having been applied to so great an evil, sanctions the object of the persons selected for preparing the index, in the following terms: "The holy council is of opinion, that the fathers chosen for this examination ought carefully to consider what ought to be done respecting these books, and the censuring of them, and at a proper time, present their report to this council, to enable it, more readily, to distinguish foreign and false doctrines, as tares, from the wheat of Christian truth, and more easily to deliberate, and to ordain what is most likely to banish the causes of many disputes, and to remove the scruples of many minds."[2]

In the 25th session, which was the last of the council, and held on the 3rd and 4th of December, 1563, after other decrees had been read relative to fasts and festivals, &c. a decree, by which the making of the *Index* was referred to the pope, was published in the following terms:

"The holy council in the second session held under our most holy father Pius IV. having given commission to

(2) Fra Paolo Sarpio, Hist. du Conc. de Trente, traduite par le Sieur De la Mothe Josseval [Amelot de la Houssaye]. Liv. 6. pp. 451, 452. Amst. 1683, 4to.

(3) Labbei S. S. Concilia, XIV. p. 842.

certain fathers selected for the purpose, to consider what was necessary to be done relative to suspected and pernicious books, and to various censures, and to make report to the council; and as the holy council now understands that they have put the last hand to the work, but that on account of the variety and multitude of the books, it cannot readily and distinctly form a judgment respecting them, ordains, that what they have done shall be laid before the most holy Roman pontiff, that the work may be completed and published at his discretion and by his authority (ejus judicio ac auctoritate)."[4]

After reading and confirming the decrees, this celebrated council concluded its deliberations on the 4th of December, 1563, which were sanctioned the ensuing year by the pope's bull of confirmation.

The *Index of Prohibited Books* received the express approbation of the pope by a bull, dated March 24th, 1564, "forbidding all ecclesiastical persons, whether secular or regular, of every degree, order, and dignity, as well as laymen of every rank and title, to presume to keep or read any books, contrary to the rules prescribed respecting them, or any of those prohibited in the Index." This bull, with the rules of the Index, was ordered to be publicly read, and placed in places of general resort.[5]

The *General Rules* relative to *prohibited books*, framed by the fathers of the deputation, or committee appointed by the council, and approved by the pope, are the following, and are usually prefixed to the prohibitory Indexes.

I.—"All books condemned by the supreme pontiffs or general councils before the year 1515, and not comprised in the present Index, are *nevertheless*, to be considered as condemned."

II.—"The books of heresiarchs, whether of those who broached or disseminated their heresies prior to the year

(4) Labbei S. S. Concilia, XIV. p. 918.
(5) Ibid. pp. 950, 951.

above mentioned, or of those who have been, or are, the heads or leaders of heretics, as Luther, Zuingle, Calvin, Balthazar Pacimontanus, Swenchfeld, and other similar ones, are alogether forbidden, whatever may be their names, titles, or subjects. And the books of other heretics, which treat professedly upon religion, are totally condemned; but those which do not treat upon religion are allowed to be read, after having been examined and approved by Catholic divines, by order of the bishops and inquisitors. Those Catholic books also are permitted to be read, which have been composed by authors, who have afterwards fallen into heresy, or who, after their fall, have returned into the bosom of the church, provided they have been approved by the theological faculty of some Catholic university, or by the general inquisition."

III.—"Translations of ecclesiastical writers, which have been hitherto published by condemned authors, are permitted to be read, if they contain nothing contrary to sound doctrine. Translations of the *Old Testament* may also be allowed, but only to learned and pious men, at the discretion of the bishop; provided they use them merely as elucidations of the vulgate Version, in order to understand the Holy Scriptures, and not as the Sacred Text itself. But translations of the *New Testament* made by authors of the first class of this Index, are allowed to no one, since little advantage, but much danger, generally arises from reading them. If notes accompany the versions which are allowed to be read, or are joined to the Vulgate edition, they may be permitted to be read by the same persons as the versions, after the suspected places have been expunged by the theological faculty of some Catholic university, or by the general inquisitor. On the same conditions also, pious and learned men may be permitted to have what is called "*Vatablus's Bible*," or any part of it. But the preface and Prologomena of the Bibles published by *Isidore*

Clarius are, however, excepted; and the text of his editions is not to be considered as the text of the Vulgate edition."

IV.—"Inasmuch as it is manifest from experience, that if the *Holy Bible*, translated into the vulgar tongue, be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of men will cause more evil than good to arise from it, it is, on this point, referred to the judgment of the bishops, or inquisitors, who may, by the advice of the priest, or confessor, permit the reading of the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue by Catholic authors, to those persons whose faith and piety, they apprehend, will be augmented, and not injured by it; and this permission they must have in writing. But if any one shall have the presumption to read or possess it without such written permission, he shall not receive absolution until he have first delivered up such Bible to the ordinary."

"Booksellers who shall sell, or otherwise dispose of Bibles in the vulgar tongue, to any person not having such permission, shall forfeit the value of the books, to be applied by the bishop to some pious use; and be subjected to such other penalties as the bishop shall judge proper, according to the quality of the offence. But regulars shall neither read, nor purchase such Bibles without a special licence from their superiors.

V.—"Books of which heretics are the editors, but which contain little or nothing of their own, being mere compilations from others, as lexicons, concordances, (collections of) apophthegms, or similies, indexes, and others of a similar kind, may be allowed by the bishops and inquisitors, after having made, with the advice of divines, such corrections and emendations as may be deemed requisite."

VI.—"Books of controversy betwixt the Catholics and heretics of the present time, written in the vulgar tongue, are not to be indiscriminately allowed, but are to be subject to the same regulations as Bibles in the vulgar

tongue. As to those works in the vulgar tongue, which treat of morality, contemplation, confession, and similar subjects, and which contain nothing contrary to sound doctrine, there is no reason why they should be prohibited; the same may be said also of sermons in the vulgar tongue, designed for the people. And if in any kingdom or province, any books have been hitherto prohibited, as containing things not proper to be indiscriminately read by all sorts of persons, they may be allowed by the bishop and inquisitor, after having corrected them, if written by Catholic authors."

VII.— "Books professedly treating of lascivious or obscene subjects, or narrating, or teaching them, are utterly prohibited, as readily corrupting both the faith and manners of those who peruse them; and those who possess them shall be severely punished by the bishop. But the works of antiquity, written by the heathens, are permitted to be read, because of the elegance and propriety of the language; though on no account shall they be suffered to be read by young persons."

VIII.—"Books, the principal subject of which is good, but in which some things are occasionally introduced tending to heresy and impiety, divination, or superstition, may be allowed, after they have been corrected by Catholic divines, by the authority of the general inquisition. The same judgment is also formed of prefaces, summaries, or notes, taken from condemned authors; and inserted in the works of authors not condemned; but such works must not be printed in future, until they have been amended."

IX.—"All books and writings of geomancy, hydromancy, aëromancy, pyromancy, onomancy, chyromancy, and necromancy; or which treat of sorceries, poisons, auguries, auspices, or magical incantations, are utterly rejected. The bishops shall also diligently guard against any persons reading or keeping any books, treatises, or

indexes, which treat of judicial astrology, or contain presumptuous predictions of the events of future contingencies, and fortuitous occurrences, or of those actions which depend upon the will of man. But they shall permit such opinions and observations of natural things, as are written in aid of navigation, agriculture, and medicine."

X.—"In the printing of books and other writings, the rules shall be observed, which were ordained in the 10th session of the council of Lateran, under Leo X. Therefore, if any book is to be printed in the city of Rome, it shall first be examined by the pope's vicar and the master of the sacred palace, or other persons chosen by our most holy father for that purpose. In other places, the examination of any book or manuscript intended to be printed, shall be referred to the bishop, or some skilful person, whom he shall nominate, and the inquisitor of the city or diocese in which the impression is executed, who shall gratuitously, and without delay, affix their approbation to the work, in their own hand-writing, subject, nevertheless, to the pains and censures contained in the said decree; this law and condition being added, that an authentic copy of the book to be printed, signed by the author himself, shall remain in the hands of the examiner: and it is the judgment of the fathers of the present deputation, that those persons who publish works in manuscript, before they have been examined and approved, should be subject to the same penalties as those who print them; and that those who read or possess them should be considered as the authors, if the real authors of such writings do not avow themselves. The approbation given in writing shall be placed at the head of the books, whether printed or in manuscript, that they may appear to be duly authorized; and this examination and approbation, &c. shall be granted gratuitously."

"Moreover, in every city and diocese, the house or

place where the art of printing is exercised, and also the shops of booksellers, shall be frequently visited by persons deputed by the bishop or his vicar, conjointly with the inquisitor, so that nothing that is prohibited may be printed, kept, or sold. Booksellers of every description, shall keep a catalogue of the books which they have on sale, signed by the said deputies; nor shall they keep, or sell, nor in any way dispose of, any other books, without permission from the deputies, under pain of forfeiting the books, and being liable to such other penalties as shall be judged proper by the bishop or inquisitor, who shall also punish the buyers, readers, or printers of such works. If any person import foreign books into any city, they shall be obliged to announce them to the deputies; or if this kind of merchandise be exposed to sale in any public place, the public officers of the place shall signify to the said deputies, that such books have been brought; and no one shall presume to give to read, or lend, or sell, any book which he or any other person has brought into the city, until he has shewn it to the deputies, and obtained their permission, unless it be a work well known to be universally allowed."

"Heirs and testamentary executors, shall make no use of the books of the deceased, nor in any way transfer them to others, until they have presented a catalogue of them to the deputies, and obtained their licence, under pain of the confiscation of the books, or the infliction of such other punishment as the bishop or inquisitor shall deem proper, according to the contumacy or quality of the delinquent."

"With regard to those books which the fathers of the present deputation shall examine, or correct, or deliver to be corrected, or permit to be reprinted on certain conditions, booksellers and others shall be bound to observe whatever is ordained respecting them. The bishops and general inquisitors shall, nevertheless, be at liberty,

according to the power they possess, to prohibit such books as may seem to be permitted by these rules, if they deem it necessary, for the good of the kingdom, or province, or diocese. And let the secretary of these fathers, according to the command of our holy Father, transmit to the notary of the general inquisitor, the names of the books that have been corrected, as well as of the persons to whom the fathers have granted the power of examination."

"Finally, it is enjoined on all the faithful, that no one presume to keep, or read any books contrary to these rules, or prohibited by this *Index*. But if any one read, or keep any books composed by heretics, or the writings of any author suspected of heresy, or false doctrine, he shall instantly incur the sentence of excommunication; and those who read, or keep works interdicted on another account, beside the mortal sin committed, shall be severely punished at the will of the bishops."[6]

The secretary to the committee or deputation for forming the *Index of prohibited books* was FRANCIS FOREIRO, of the order of preachers, and professor of theology, who had not only the chief care of compiling the Index, but was also the writer of the preface prefixed to it. It was divided into three classes, arranged alphabetically. The *first* class contained the list of those *authors* who were either considered as heretics, or suspected of heresy, and therefore, all works published by them were condemned, or ordered to be corrected: the *second* class contained a catalogue of books, described by their titles, which were suspected of containing false doctrine, and therefore, either wholly condemned, or ordered to be corrected: the *third* class specified those *anonymous* works which were either entirely condemned, or deemed needful to be corrected. Succeeding pontiffs greatly enlarged the Tridentine *Index*, by the addition of numerous other condemned and censured books; the *Rules of the Index* were also variously modified

(6) Labbei S. S. Concilia, XIV. pp. 952—956.

by subsequent explanations and additions. Many of these alterations and additions may be found in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum et Expurgandorum*, by Anton. à Sotomajor. Madrit. 1667, fol.

FRANCIS, or FRANCISCO FOREIRO, the chief compiler of the *Index*, was also the principal person employed in revising the Missal and Breviary, agreeably to the recommendation of the council, as well as in compiling the Catholic Catechism, usually called the *Catechism of Trent*, from its being drawn up by desire of that council. He was a native of Lisbon, in Portugal, and was eminently skilled in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. Having entered the order of the Dominicans, he made his profession, Feb. 2nd, 1539. His talents having gained him the confidence of the king of Portugal, he was sent by that monarch to the council of Trent, in 1561, in quality of theologian. In 1568 he was chosen provincial of his order. He was the author of a *Latin* translation of *Isaiah's* Prophecy, with a commentary, printed at Venice, 1563, fol. He is said to have extended his *Commentary* to all the *Prophets*. A *Hebrew Lexicon* and other works are also attributed to him. He died in 1581, aged 58.[7]

The decrees of the council of Trent being confirmed by the pope, were solemnly received by the senate of Venice, the diet of Poland, and the king of Portugal; but published by the king of Spain, in Spain, the Low-Countries, Sicily, and Naples, with a proviso, as to certain laws of discipline, to save the right of the king and kingdom. In France, Queen Catherine de Medicis alleged, that the council forbade several customs allowed by the discipline of the realm, and therefore put off the legal publication; and though vigorous attempts have been made to enforce the acceptance of the decrees, they have never been legally established in that kingdom. But the doctrinal decisions of the council in matters of faith,

(7) D. B. Machado, Biblioth. Lusitan. II. p. 152. Lisb. 1748, fol.

have been generally received by the Gallican church. In Germany the Reformation had extended the opposition to the Council, and the Protestants refused to acknowledge its authority.[8]

The Latin *Vulgate* having been pronounced *authentic* by the council of Trent, it was desirable that as correct an edition of it as possible should be printed, with all expedition. JOHN HENTENIUS, a Catholic divine of Louvain, published, therefore, an edition of the Vulgate, chiefly taken from that of Robert Stephens, of 1540, but collated with several manuscripts. It was printed at Louvain, in 1547, fol. and was afterwards frequently reprinted. This edition of Hentenius may be attributed to the divines of Louvain in general, since the author assures us, in his preface, that it was done by the order of the most learned and judicious of the divines of that university, and that he acted under their counsel and direction; Sweertius *(Freheri Theatrum,)* adds, that it was undertaken at the request of the Emperor Charles V.

The edition of Hentenius, however, not being entirely satisfactory to them, they corrected the printed text, partly from Latin MSS., partly from the originals themselves; and published, at Louvain, in 1573, an edition of the Bible, much superior to the preceding, accompanied with various readings from Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, Syriac, and Latin MSS. &c. The principal editor was FRANCIS LUCAS, of Bruges, assisted by *John Molanus, Augustin Hunnæus, Cornelius Reyner,* and *John Harlem,* doctors of the university of Louvain.[9]

JOHN HENTEN, or HENTENIUS, the editor of the first edition of the *Louvain Latin Bible,* was born at Naline, near Thuin, on the Sambre. At an early period he went to Portugal, where he joined the order of *Hieronymites.*

(8) Dictionnaire Portatif des Conciles, p. 530. Butler's Lives, XI. p. 92.

(9) Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. ii. vol. III. cap. ii. sec. 1. pp. 223—225. 230—232.

He afterwards removed to Louvain, and entered the order of the Dominicans, and in 1551 was made doctor of divinity. He died at Louvain in 1566, aged 67.—Beside the *Revision of the Vulgate Bible*, he published *The Commentaries of Euthymius on the Gospels;* those of *Œcumenius on the Epistles of St. Paul;* and of *Aretas on the Revelation.*[10]

Francis Lucas, surnamed *Brugensis*, from *Bruges*, the place of his birth, was one of the divines of Louvain, and dean of St. Omers, where he died, February 19th, 1619. He was critically versed in the Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, and Greek languages. He was the author of several critical and learned works. A valuable treatise of his on the *Various Readings of the Greek and Latin Gospels*, &c. is inserted in the sixth volume of the London Polyglott.[11]

Other editions of the Vulgate, beside those of the divines of Louvain, were also published by individuals of the Catholic communion, two of which merit notice, the one by John Benedict, the other by Isidore Clarius. Benedict's corrected edition was printed at Paris, by Simon Colinæus, 1541, in fol.; and was accompanied with marginal notes. It was subsequently placed in the *Expurgatory Index* of the Romish church. Clarius's edition was printed at Venice, by Peter Schoeffer, 1542, fol. An emended edition of the Vulgate was also edited and published by *Francis Gryphius*, the learned printer, at Paris, in 1541, 8vo.[12]

Jonh Benedict, or Benoit, doctor in theology, was born at Verneuil, in France, in 1483. He died at Paris, where he was rector of St. Innocents' church, in 1573. Beside his edition of the Vulgate Bible, he completed

(10) Nouveau Dict. Hist. IV. pp. 440, 441.
(11) Freheri Theatrum, pt. i. sec. 3, p. 401.
Clarke's Bibliog. Dict. IV. p. 294.
(12) Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. ii. vol. III. cap. ii. sec. 1; pp. 213—215. 219—222.

the *Scholia* of *Jean Gagny* on the *Gospels* and *Acts of the Apostles*, 1563, 8vo.[13]

Isidore Clario, or Clarius, took his surname of *Clarius* from *Chiari*, the place of his birth, in the territory of *Brescia*, from whence he is also sometimes called *Brixianus*. He was born in 1495, and entered at a proper age into the order of St. Benedict, at the monastery of St. John, in Parma, where he made extraordinary progress in sacred and profane literature, and acquired the reputation of being one of the most learned men of his time. The purity of his morals, the warmth of his charity, and his zeal for the reformation of manners, gained him general esteem; whilst his eloquence distinguished him as a preacher and orator. In 1537, he was made prior of the monastery of St. Peter, in Modena. He was afterwards abbot of Pontido, near Bergamo, and of St. Mary, in Cesena. His final promotion was to the bishoprick of Foligno, which see he governed with great reputation, assiduously attending to the instruction of the poor, and promoting literature among those of superior condition, by the institution of an academy of learned men. In 1542, he published his revised edition of the Vulgate Bible, and prefixed to it certain *Prolegomena*, or prefatory dissertations, which were afterwards ordered by the rules of the *Expurgatory Index* of the council of Trent, published after his death, to be suppressed, and the *Text* of his edition pronounced not the authentic, or pure text of the Vulgate. He was present at the council both in the quality of abbot and of bishop, and strenuously defended the Vulgate version of the Scriptures as the best extant, and the standard to which all others ought to be brought, or rather that no other ought to be permitted, though he acknowledged it needed correction. He died of a fever, in 1555, at Foligno, and his remains were honoured by the people almost as those

(13) Nouveau Dict. Hist. II. p. 68.

of a saint. A collection of his sermons was published during his life, and reprinted after his death. In his edition of the Latin Bible he made great use of Seb. Munster's Annotations on the Old Testament, but was prevented by the spirit of the times from acknowledging his obligations to the works of a Protestant author.[14]

Editions of the Vulgate version were published also by Protestant editors, especially by the learned Lutheran ministers, *Andrew* and *Luke Osiander*, and their descendants, and by *Conrad Pellican*.

All preceding revisions of the Vulgate were, however, surpassed in celebrity by those published by the authority, and under the immediate inspection of the Roman pontiffs. Pope Pius IV. during whose pontificate the council of Trent was concluded, adopted the views of the council, which had declared the Vulgate to be *authentic* and had ordered correct editions of it to be printed; and in pursuance of the design chose several cardinals and others, who were well acquainted with languages, and versed in the study of the Scriptures, to whom he committed the correction of the Latin version, which he ordered to be collated with the Hebrew and Greek Texts, and the writings of the Fathers. His successor, Pius V. continued the undertaking, until interrupted by what he considered as the more important concerns of the papal see, which occasioned the suspension of it for some time. On the accession of Sixtus V. to the papal supremacy, the design was renewed, and carried into effect. This active and resolute pontiff not only assembled round him a number of the most learned and acute linguists and critics, but ardently and personally engaged in the examination of the work himself. Angelus Roccha, the librarian of the Vatican, relates, that in the library, among other inscriptions, was one

(14) Aikin's Gen. Biog. III. p. 2.
Simon, Hist. du V. T. liv. 2, ch. xx. p. 358.

recording the publication of the Vulgate by Sixtus V. "This inscription," says he, "is the fourth inscription, and indicates the extraordinary and truly pontifical care which Sixtus V. took in correcting and printing the Bible, according to the direction of the council of Trent, in which his labours were of such a nature, and so great both by day and night, that I, who have frequently seen, and been astonished at them, am persuaded no words can adequately describe them. For he read over every word of the Bible before he committed it to the press, notwithstanding the heavy cares of the whole Christian world which came upon him daily, and the many pious, heroical, and truly pontifical acts which he performed. Thus, therefore, he diligently read and corrected the Sacred pages, so that all the books of the Holy Scriptures, and every part of them, might be read, agreeably to the decree of the council of Trent, as they had formerly been accustomed to be read in the Catholic church, and as they are contained in the old Vulgate Latin Bible. Nor did even this suffice, for when the Bible, thus corrected, was recently printed, he reviewed the whole, that every part of it being faithfully executed, it might be published to the world."

He did more than this, for he not only read over the sheets as they came from the press; but after the whole had been printed off, he re-examined every part of it, corrected several places with his own hand, and took care that others were rectified by words or sentences separately printed, and pasted over the erroneous words or phrases.

To add to the authority of this edition, Sixtus accompanied it with a bull, by which he forbade any one, under pain of the most tremendous anathemas, to alter it in the minutest particular. This bull bears date in March, 1589, though the Bible was not published till 1590, and enjoins the reception of this edition as the authentic one,

according to the decree of the council of Trent; "Of our certain knowledge, and plenitude of apostolical power, we ordain and declare," says the pontiff, "that this edition only, which has now been corrected in the best possible manner, and printed at our Vatican press, is without any doubt or controversy to be regarded by the Christian public, as the Vulgate Latin edition of the Old and New Testament, received as *authentic* by the council of Trent. And we order it to be read through the whole Christian world, in all churches, remarking, that first by the general consent of the holy church, and of the holy Fathers, then by the decree of the general council of Trent, and now also, by that apostolical authority which God hath committed unto us, it was, and is enjoined to be received and accounted, as a true, lawful, authentic, and undoubted copy, in all public and private disputations, lectures, sermons, or expositions."[15]

This edition, which has justly obtained the name of the SIXTINE, or BIBLE OF SIXTUS V. was printed at the Vatican press established by Sixtus, in 3 vols, folio. 1590, and is said to be "one of the grandest works which ever issued from the Vatican press, under the superintendence of Aldus." Some copies were printed upon large paper, and are extremely rare.

The principal persons employed by Sixtus in this edition, were Cardinal CARAFFA, FLAMINIUS NOBILIUS, ANTONIUS AGELLIUS, PETRUS MORINUS, ANGELUS ROCCHA, and LÆLIUS.

Scarcely, however, had the Sixtine edition made its appearance before it was discovered to abound with errors; and on the decease of the pontiff, which happened in the

(15) Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. ii. vol. III. cap. ii. sec. 1, pp. 239—244. Clement, Bibliotheque Curieuse, IV. pp. 155—158.
Schelhornii Amœnitates Literariæ, IV. pp. 433—454. Francofurt. et Lips. 1730, 8vo.
James's Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, &c. pt. iii. pp. 32—36. 54. Lond. 1611, 4to.

same year that his Bible was published, the copies were called in, and a new edition was resolved upon by his successor GREGORY XIV. who committed the revision of the work to a congregation or committee of cardinals and other learned men, the chief of whom, according to Le Long, (Biblioth. Sacr.) were the Cardinals MARCUS ANTONIUS, COLUMNA, and WILLIAM ALAN; BARTHOLOMÆUS DE MIRANDA, master of the sacred palace; ROBERT BELLARMIN, ANTONIUS AGELLIUS, PETRUS MORINUS, FLAMINIUS NOBILIUS, BARTHOLOMÆUS VALVERDIUS, and LÆLIUS; to whom Clement adds, the Cardinals DE RUVERE, DE SARNANA, and COLUMNA, junr.; PETRUS RUDOLPHUS, HENRICUS GRAVIUS, ANDREAS, abbot of Salvanera, ANTONIUS de Sancto Silvestro, and ANGELUS ROCCHA, the secretary of the congregation or committee.

GREGORY dying in October, 1591, before the work had been much advanced, it was afterwards resumed by CLEMENT VIII. who ascended the pontifical chair, January 30, 1592. The learned men whom he selected as editors, were the Cardinals FRANCISCUS TOLETUS, AUGUSTINUS VALERIUS, and FREDERICUS BORROMÆUS, assisted by BELLARMIN, AGELLIUS, MORINUS, and two others.

Clement's edition of the Vulgate was published in 1592, in fol. The *preface*, which is anonymous, was written by *Robert Bellarmin*. To this is annexed the decree of the 4th session of the council of Trent, "De Canonis Scripturis;" and the bull of Clement VIII. dated Rome, Nov. 19, 1592, in which he forbids any printer or bookseller to print or sell, during the space of 10 years, any Bible which is not exactly conformable to this, under pain of the great excommunication. A second edition was published in 1593, in 4to. differing in some instances from the former.

The difference between the papal editions is considerable, and strikes a fatal blow at the infallibility of the

popes. Dr. James, the very learned librarian of the Bodleian Library, in his celebrated *Bellum Papale*, printed at London, 1600, 4to. and 1678, 12mo. notices 2000 variations, some of whole verses, and many others clearly and decidedly contradictory to each other. Yet both editions were respectively declared to be *authentic* by the same plenitude of knowledge and power, and both guarded against the least alteration, by the same tremendous *excommunication*. Dr. James, in his *Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture*, also mentions several other variations, not noticed in his *Bellum Papale*. Sixtinus Amamus has followed him in his *Anti-barbarus Biblicus*, Franequer, 1656, in 4to. Father *Henry de Bukentop*, a Ricollet, has made a similar collection in his treatise entitled *Lux de Luce*, Cologne, 1710, 4to. but denies the consequences that Dr. James professes to draw from them, against the papal infallibility. Lucas Brugensis reckoned 400 places, in which, in his opinion, the Bible of Clement VIII. might be thought to want correction. Cardinal Robert Bellarmin praised his industry, and wrote to him, that those concerned in the work had not corrected it with the utmost accuracy, and that intentionally they had passed over many mistakes.

The defence made by the advocates of the papal authority, is, that Clement only corrected those errors of the press, which Sixtus designed to have corrected in a second edition. This is supported by the writer of the preface to the Clementine edition: but of this there is no proof, and but little probability. On the contrary, the *Corrections* which Sixtus made with his own hand, the *Bull* which he issued, his well-known imperious and resolute disposition, and the distinct nature of the editions, that of Sixtus being corrected by the Hebrew original, whilst that of Clement was restricted to the old Latin Vulgate, prove that no such intention existed. So strong is the argument thus furnished against the in-

fallibility of the popes, that Baldwin, the Jesuit, boldly affirmed, that Sixtus's edition never was published! That the copies of it are extremely rare, is certain, the edition having been suppressed so soon after its publication. Two, however, are known to exist in England, one of which is in the Bodleian Library. But, "although we cannot follow the Vulgate Latin," says a modern critic, "in every part, nor ascribe to it the authority it possesses in the church of Rome, yet it is by no means to be overlooked by the Biblical student: as an ancient version it affords assistance in understanding the original, and contributes its share toward correcting some mistakes in the Hebrew text, for it undoubtedly has in some places preserved the true readings, which are confirmed by Kennicott's collations."[16] Both these editions are sometimes sold, under the name of *Sixtus's Bible.*

The following biographical sketches of the popes SIXTUS V. and CLEMENT VIII.; and of the learned men who were employed in the publication of the Vulgate by papal authority, may not be uninteresting to the reader, whether we consider the importance of the work in which they were engaged, or the celebrity of many of them as literary characters, or controversial writers.

FELIX PERETTI, afterwards Pope *Sixtus* V. was born December 13th, 1521, in the province of *La Marca d'Ancona*, at a village called *Le Grotte*, in the seigniory of *Montalto*, from which he took his title, when he was made cardinal. His father was a gardener, and his mother a servant-maid. They would gladly have given him some education, but were debarred by their poverty. When he was nine years old his father hired him out to an in-

(16) Hamilton's Gen. Introd. to the Hebrew Scriptures, ch. viii. p. 166. Dublin, 1814, 8vo.
Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. ii. vol. III. cap. ii. sec. 1, pp. 244—249.
Clement, Bibliotheque Curieuse, IV. pp. 156—163.
Schelhornii Amœnitates Literariæ, *ut sup.*
James's Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, *ut sup.*

habitant of the town, to look after his sheep, but having disobliged his master, he was degraded to be the keeper of the hogs. From this disagreeable occupation he was rescued by a fortunate, but unforeseen accident. F. Michael Angelo Selleri, a Franciscan friar, going in the beginning of February, 1531, to preach at Ascoli, lost his way near Le Grotte; and coming to four lane ends, was at a loss which road to take, and was looking round for some one to direct him, when young Felix, who was attending his hogs near the place, perceiving his perplexity, ran to him, and after saluting him, inquired the cause of it, and tendering his services, which were gladly accepted, ran by the side of the friar to Ascoli. The conversation which took place between them on the road, discovered such marks of intelligence, and thirst for knowledge, in the young swineherd, as induced F. Michael to recommend him to the care and patronage of his fraternity. He was accordingly invested with the habit of a lay-brother, and placed under the sacristan to assist in sweeping the church, lighting the candles, and other similar employments, for which he was to be taught the responses, and the rudiments of grammar; and being afterwards placed under an instructor to be taught Latin, made such progress in learning, that at the age of 13 he was qualified to commence his *noviciate*, or year's probation, and at 14 was admitted to make his *profession*. In June, 1545, he was ordained priest, and assumed the name of Father *Montalto*. He took his bachelor's degree the same year. Afterwards, having taken his doctor's degree, with honour, though not without opposition from those whom he had offended by the violence of his temper, he rose successively to be professor of theology at Sienna; preacher to the convent of the Holy Apostles in Rome; regent of the convent of St. Lawrence at Naples, and of the Cordeliers at Venice; inquisitor general at Venice; procurator and general of his order;

chaplain to the king of Spain; confessor extraordinary to the pope; and bishop of St. Agatha. In 1569, he was employed to draw up a bull for the excommunication of Elizabeth, queen of England, and was soon afterwards created cardinal, by the title *Di Montalto*. This promotion inflamed the ambition of Montalto, and he resolved to aspire to the papacy. With this view he artfully assumed the character of an humble, patient, affable, disinterested monk, retired to his cell, practised the austerities of the cloister, professed himself dead to the honours of the world, and, pretending to be sinking under the accumulated infirmities of old age, completely imposed upon his contemporaries. When Gregory XIII. died, in 1585, he entered the conclave with the other cardinals, but seemed altogether indifferent about the event of the election. Foreseeing the contentions that would be occasioned by the rival candidates, he joined no party, but flattered all. Three cardinals, unable to procure the election which they respectively wished, unanimously agreed to make choice of Montalto. Whilst they congratulated him on the probability of his accession to the papal chair, he sat coughing and weeping, as if some great misfortune had befallen him; but no sooner did he perceive that a sufficient number of votes were given to gain his election, than he threw the staff, with which he used to support himself, into the midst of the chapel, and starting from his seat, appeared almost a foot taller than he had done for several years. The astonished cardinals pretending some mistake, he sternly vociferated, "There is no mistake," and immediately thundered out the *Te Deum* in a voice that shook the place, and, by the boldness of his manner, intimidated his opponents, and secured his success. He now assumed the title of Sixtus V., and laying aside his feigned humility and complaisance, treated all around him with haughtiness and reserve. His first care was to correct the abuses, and prevent the

enormities, practised in the ecclesiastical states. Justice was exercised with a severe but impartial hand, and the licentiousness which had every where prevailed was restrained by the vigorous measures of Sixtus, who never forgave those who attempted to seduce a female; and who punished with equal firmness the dignitary and the plebeian. Anxious not only to embellish Rome, but to immortalize his memory, he caused an obelisk to be erected, which Caligula had brought from Spain; and after the labour of four months, this stupendous column, above 100 feet high, was raised at the entrance of the church of St. Peter, and consecrated to the holy cross. He fixed by a bull, the number of cardinals to seventy, and introduced various salutary regulations in the government of the church. He built the famous library in the Vatican; established in it a printing-office, for the printing of Catholic works; and instituted the *Congregation of the Index*, for the examination of books and manuscripts designed for publication, and for the correction or suppression of those suspected of heretical opinions. Under his direction, new editions were published of the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* versions of the Scriptures: he is also said to have caused an *Italian* translation of the Bible to be printed, which he afterwards suppressed, on account of the strenuous opposition of the Spaniards and some cardinals. He likewise, whilst cardinal, published an edition of the *Works of St. Ambrose.* After he had exercised the papal authority with singular energy and effect for five years, the pontifical chair became vacant by his death, which occurred on the 27th of August, 1590, not without suspicion of his being poisoned by the Jesuits, whom he had exceedingly incensed against him.[17]

Hippolito Aldobrandino, afterwards Pope Cle-

(17) Leti's Life of Pope Sixtus the Fifth, translated from the Italian by E. Farneworth, *passim.* Dublin, 1766, 8vo.

MENT VIII. was descended from an ancient Florentine family, and born at Fano, in 1536. He studied at Ferrara, and Bologna, and distinguished himself by natural eloquence, and an upright disposition. Pius V. made him an auditor of the *Roto*, or court of judicature, which takes cognizance of beneficiary matters, and which derived its name from the *Rota Porphyretica*, or Porphyry pavement formed like a wheel, of the chamber where the court was held. Sixtus V. gave him a cardinal's hat, and sent him as legate *a latere*, or cardinal legate, to Poland. He also conferred upon him the office of grand penitentiary, who has the power of regulating all affairs relative to confessors and confessions. On the vacancy after the short pontificate of Innocent IX. he was elected pope, on the 30th of January, 1592. On his accession to the pontifical chair, he styled himself Clement VIII. and became distinguished by his zeal against the Protestants. This particularly appeared in his endeavours to place a Roman Catholic on the throne of France, in the place of Henry IV., and the difficulty with which he was reconciled to that prince after his apostacy from the Protestant religion. Among his more laudable acts must be reckoned his severe edict against duelling, his establishment of a college for the Slavonians, and his publication of the Vulgate Bible. For about thirteen years he possessed the tiara, and during that period created more than fifty cardinals, among whom were *Baronius*, *Bellarmin*, *Du Perron*, and other eminent men. He died March 5th, 1605.[18]

ANTONIUS CARAFFA was an Italian, of illustrious family. He had for his preceptor William Sirlet, a learned Calabrian, and whilst young was called to the court of Pope Paul IV. his kinsman, the pontiff who first instituted the

(18) Aikin's Gen. Biog. III. p. 20.
Walsh's Hist. of the Popes, p. 269. Lond. 1759, 8vo.
Leti's Life of Sixtus V. pp. 331. 390.

Index of prohibited Books. On the election of Pius IV. the Caraffa family were grievously oppressed, and deprived of their principal benefices, to which they were again promoted by his successor Pius V. who conferred new honours upon them, and created Antonius a cardinal. After his advancement, Cardinal Caraffa was employed in correcting an edition of the canon law, collecting the decretal epistles, and assisting in the publication of the Greek and Latin Bibles published under the auspices of Sixtus V. He succeeded his former preceptor, Cardinal Sirlet, as librarian of the Vatican; and was appointed patron (patrocinium) of the Maronite seminaries instituted at Rome, by Gregory XIII. Whilst engaged at Rome, in preparing a collection of the Greek and Latin councils, (afterwards completed by Cardinal Frederick Borromeo,) he was interrupted by death, at the age of 53, in 1591.[19]

Flaminius Nobilius was a celebrated divine and critic, born at Lucca, but resided chiefly at Rome. In 1581, he published a treatise "On Predestination," printed at Rome, in 4to. He was also one of the learned men employed by Sixtus V. to edite the Vatican version of the Septuagint, in 1587; of which he published a literal Latin translation the year following, taken principally from the old *Italic*, or Latin version, and accompanied with notes. This translation is inserted by Bishop Walton in the London Polyglott. He died in 1590, aged 58 years.[20]

Antonius Agellius, bishop of Acerno, in the kingdom of Naples, was of the order of *Theatines*, or Regular Clerks. He was born at Sorrento; and died in 1608. He published *Commentaries on the Psalms, Jeremiah,* and *Habakkuk;* and was employed by Gregory XIII. in

(19) Freheri Theatrum Viror. Erudit. I. pt. i. sec. 2, p. 55.
(20) Nouv. Dict. Hist. III. p. 637.
Fabricy, Titres Primitifs, I. p. 234; II. p. 36.

preparing the Vatican edition of the Septuagint, afterwards published under the auspices of Sixtus V.[21]

PETRUS MORINUS, or PIERRE MORIN, born at Paris, in 1531, was for some years employed by the learned Paul Manutius, in his printing-office at Venice. He afterwards taught Greek at Vicenza; from whence he was called to Ferrara by the reigning duke. Cardinal Charles Borromeo being informed of his profound knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquities, and of his disinterestedness, zeal, and piety, admitted him to his friendship, and, in 1575, engaged him to visit Rome. Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. committed to him, in conjunction with other critics, the preparation for the press of the editions of the Septuagint, in 1587; and of the Vulgate, in 1590. He also published an edition of the *Decretals*, 3 vols. fol. Rome, 1591; and a *Collection of General Councils*, 4 vols. Rome, 1608. F. Quetif, a Dominican, published a treatise of his, *On the proper use of the Sciences*, with some other of his works, in 1675. He died at Rome, in 1608, in the 77th year of his age. He is said to have been a man of a frank, sincere, mild, upright, and honest mind; of an even temper, the enemy of artifice, indifferent to riches and honours, and under the influence of no passion, except that of study. From his residence at Rome, and his application to the language, he spoke the Italian with the utmost fluency and elegance.[22]

ANGELUS ROCCHA, the celebrated librarian of the Vatican, was born in 1545, at Rocca Contrata, in the March of Ancona, and died at Rome, April 7th, 1620. He entered, at an early age, into the order of Hermits of St. Augustin, and was for several years the secretary of the order, till Pope Sixtus V. being informed of his profound erudition, called him to the Vatican, and appointed him to watch over the impressions of the *Bible*, *Councils*, and *Fathers*, which he had ordered to be printed

(21) Nouv. Dict. Hist. I. p. 68. (22) Ibid. VI. p. 355.

in the Apostolic printing-office, erected by himself. To compensate Roccha for his indefatigable labours and diligence, Pope Clement VIII. conferred on him the titular distinction* of bishop of Tagaste. He published *Remarks* on the *Scriptures*, and on the *Fathers*, but his *Remarks*, or *Commentaries*, are now seldom read. Another of his works is a History and Description of the Vatican, entitled *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana illustrata*. It is dedicated to Gregory XIV. and is still held in estimation. It was printed at the Vatican press, 1591, 4to. His *Thesaurus Pontificiarum antiquitatum, necnon rituum ac cæremoniarum*, 2 vols. fol. Rome, 1745, is said to be "a curious collection." His treatise *De Campanis* is also esteemed, and may be found in the 2nd volume of Salengre's *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanorum*. Roccha laboured for 40 years to form a rich and valuable collection of books, which he presented to the monastery of St. Augustin, at Rome, on condition that it should be open to the public. He had the honour of being the first person in that capital who destined his library to the use of the public, which on that account obtained the name of *Bibliotheca Angelica*.[23]

Lælius, who is sometimes surnamed Landius, was theologian* to Cardinal Ant. Caraffa, and afterwards bishop of Narnia.[24]

---

(23) Nouv. Dict. Hist. VIII. pp. 141, 142.
Jani Erythræi Pinacotheca Imag. Illust. p. 105.

* By the 3rd council of Lateran, held under Alexander III. in 1179, it was decreed, "That on account of the bishops not being able, from various causes, regularly to administer the Word of God to the people, especially in extensive dioceses, they shall choose men capable of preaching, who shall visit the different parishes in their stead, and instruct the people, when they cannot visit them in person; and to whom they shall allow a sufficient stipend." And by the 4th council of Lateran, held in 1215, under Innocent III. it is ordained, "That the metropolitan churches shall have a *Theologian*, or *Theologal*, to teach the priests the Holy Scripture, and what concerns the direction of souls, to whom shall be assigned the revenue of a prebend." *Dict. Portatif des Conciles*, pp. 273. 744.

(24) Le Long, *Index Auctor.* I. p. 566.

MARCUS ANTONIUS COLONNA, or COLUMNA, descended from a noble Italian family, was pupil to F. Montalto, (afterwards Pope Sixtus V.) and became archbishop of Salerno, and librarian of the Vatican. He was created cardinal by Pope Pius IV. who sent him to the council of Trent. Gregory XIII. Sixtus V. and Gregory XIV. employed him as legate. He died at Zagoralla, March 13th, 1597.[25]

WILLIAM ALAN, ALLEN, or ALLYN, cardinal priest of the Romish church, an Englishman, was born at Rossal, in Lancashire, in 1532, of a good family, and some fortune. In his fifteenth year, he was entered of Oriel College, Oxford, and had for his tutor Morgan Philips, or Morgan Philip, a zealous papist. In 1550, he was unanimously elected fellow of this college; and in the same year took the degree of bachelor of arts; and soon afterwards that of master of arts, with considerable applause. In 1556, he became principal of St. Mary's Hall, and in that and the year following, one of the proctors of the University. In 1558, he was made canon of York; but losing all hope of further preferment, on the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, he quitted the kingdom in 1560, and retired to Louvain, in the Spanish Netherlands, where an English college was erected, of which he became the principal support; the design of the institution being not only to educate youth in the principles of theology in general, but especially to train them up in the art of defending the principles of the Catholic church. Here he commenced his controversial writings; and applied so diligently to study, and the duties of his situation, to the injury of his health, that the physicians thought it necessary for him to enjoy the benefit of his native air. He therefore ventured to visit England about the year 1565, and might probably have

(25) Nouv. Dict. Hist. III. p. 26.
Leti's Life of Sixtus V. B. i. p. 55; B. ii. p. 99.

continued undisturbed, had not his zeal for the Catholic cause led him to trespass the bounds of prudence, by assiduous endeavours to obtain converts, and to prevent the members of the Romish church from embracing the doctrines of the Reformation; which rendered him so obnoxious to government, that he was obliged to escape, first to London, and then to Flanders, where he landed in 1568. After his return to the Spanish Low Countries, he went to Mechlin, in the duchy of Brabant, where he read a divinity lecture, in a certain monastery. From thence he went to Douay, where he became doctor of divinity, and laboured assiduously in establishing a seminary for the support of English scholars. While thus employed, he was made canon of Cambray. In the seminary of Douay, many books were composed in justification of the principles of the Catholic church, and in reply to those written in defence of the church of England, which occasioned queen Elizabeth to issue a proclamation, forbidding such books to be either sold or read. Not long afterwards, Dr. Alan was appointed canon of Rheims, to which city he transferred the seminary he had instituted. By his indefatigable labours he procured similar seminaries to be established at Rome, and in Spain. Had he restricted himself to a defence of the theological views of the church whose cause he so zealously advocated, he might have been regarded as the upright, though bigotted friend of popery; but mingling the most detestable political principles with his other opinions, he was justly reputed at home as a capital enemy of the state, and all correspondence with him regarded as high-treason; and Thomas Alfield was actually executed for bringing his writings into England. In conformity with the sentiments he maintained, he and several fugitive English noblemen, persuaded Philip II., king of Spain, to undertake the conquest of their native country. To facilitate the design, Sixtus V. was prevailed upon to

renew the excommunication of Elizabeth, thundered against her by Pius IV. In 1587, he was created cardinal, by Sixtus, who also placed him in the congregation of the Index of prohibited books; and soon after, the king of Spain gave him an abbey of great value, in the kingdom of Naples. In April, 1588, he wrote a *Defence* of queen Elizabeth's excommunication, and exhorted the nobility and people of England to desert her, and take up arms in favour of the Spaniards. Of this infamous book 1000 copies were printed at Antwerp, in order to have been put on board the Armada, for dispersion in England; but on the failing of the enterprize the greater part of them were carefully destroyed. The king afterwards promoted him to the archbishoprick of Mechlin, in Flanders; and Gregory XIV. made him librarian of the Vatican, instead of Cardinal Caraffa, who was deceased. He is said to have repented, towards the close of life, of his treasonable and antipatriotic violence, to the great displeasure of the Jesuits. His death is generally attributed to a suppression of urine, but it was strongly suspected that he was poisoned by the Jesuits, who, whilst they admitted that he had been poisoned, charged it on his antagonist the bishop of Cassana. His death occurred on the 6th of October, 1594, at Rome. Beside publishing his controversial writings, he was engaged in the translation of the ENGLISH BIBLE, published at Rheims and Douay; and in the correction of the Vulgate *Latin*, published by Clement VIII.[26]

BARTHOLOMÆUS DE MIRANDA was a Spaniard, of the order of St. Dominic, and master of the sacred palace under Gregory XIV. He died in 1597.[27]

ROBERT BELLARMIN, the great champion of the prero-

(26) Biographia Britannica, by Kippis, I. pp. 108—114. Lond. 1778, fol. 2nd edit.
Alph. Ciaconii Vitæ et Res Gestæ Pontif. Romanor. &c. IV. p. 166. Romæ, 1677, fol.

(27) Le Long, *Index Auctor.* I. p. 571.

gatives of the Roman see, was born at Monte-Pulciano, in Tuscany, in 1542. His mother, Cynthia Cervin, was sister to Pope Marcellus II. At 18 years of age, he entered into the society of Jesuits, and discovered such precocity of genius, that he was employed in preaching before he was ordained priest, which did not take place till 1569, when he received the priesthood at the hands of Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ghent, and was placed in the theological chair of the university of Louvain. His success in teaching and preaching was so great, that he is said to have had for his auditors persons of the Protestant persuasion, both from Holland and England. After a residence of seven years at Louvain, he returned to Italy, where Gregory XIII. chose him to give controversial lectures in the college which he had just founded. Sixtus V. sent him into France, in 1590, as theologian to the legate, Cardinal Gætano. Clement VIII., nine years afterwards, raised him to the cardinalate, with this eulogium: "We choose him because the church of God does not possess his equal in learning." In 1601, he was advanced to the archbishoprick of Capua, and displayed in his diocese a zeal equal to his learning. He devoted the third part of his revenue to the relief of the poor, visited the sick in the hospitals, and the prisoners in the dungeons; and concealing the donor, secretly conveyed them money. After exercising his archiepiscopal functions with singular attention, for about four years, he was recalled to Rome by Paul V. to remain about his person; on which occasion he resigned his archbishoprick, without receiving any pension from it. He continued to attend to ecclesiastical affairs till the year 1621, when he left his apartments in the Vatican, and retired to a house of his order, where he died on the 17th of September, in the same year, at the age of 79.—No author has more strenuously defended the church and court of Rome, than Bellarmin, concerning whose opinions it may be sufficient

to quote the remarks of the authors of the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique*, who observe, "He regarded the holy father as the absolute monarch of the universal church, the indirect master of crowns and kings, the source of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the infallible judge of faith, superior even to general councils." The most celebrated of his works is the *Body of Controversy*, written in Latin, and frequently reprinted. This forms the great arsenal from which the combatants for the church of Rome have derived their most formidable weapons. The best editions are those of Paris and Prague, in 4 vols. fol.—the former termed the "Triadelphi," the latter printed in 1721. His other works were published at Cologne, in 1619, 3 vols. fol. among which are *A Commentary on the Psalms; A Treatise on Ecclesiastical Historians; A Treatise on the Temporal Authority of the Pope; A Hebrew Grammar*, printed separately at Rome, 1578, 8vo. &c. Some of these, especially his book on the Temporal Authority of the Pope, excited adversaries against him in his own communion; the defence which it contained of the right of the pontiffs to depose princes, caused it to be condemned by the parliament of Paris; and Sixtus V. ordered it to be placed in the Index of Prohibited Books, because by way of temperament it asserted not a direct, but an indirect power of the popes in temporal matters. At his death he bequeathed one half of his soul to the Virgin Mary, and the other half to Jesus Christ; and after his decease he was regarded as a saint, though the fear of giving offence to the sovereigns, whose temporal rights he had oppugned, prevented his canonization.[28]

Bartholomæus Valverdius, or De Valverde, was a Spaniard, a native of Villena, in Murcia, eminently skilled in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages. He

(28) Nouv. Dict. Hist. II. pp. 40—42.
Aikin's Gen. Biog. II. pp. 26, 27.

became doctor in divinity, and filled an high official situation under his Catholic majesty. He died in 1590. He was author of *Commentaries on the Song of Solomon, and the last chapter of Proverbs.*[29]

Jerom de Ruvere, De la Rovere, or Du Rouvre, in Latin Ruverus, or Roboreus, was of the family of the *Ruveres* of Turin, in which city he was born. He was, in 1559, made bishop of Toulon; afterwards he was advanced to the archbishoprick of Turin, and in 1564, was raised to the cardinalate. He died during the conclave in which Clement VIII. was elected pope, on the 26th of February, 1592, at the age of sixty-two. A volume of *Poems*, written by him at ten years of age, was published at Pavia, in 1540, and reprinted at Ratisbon, in 1683, in 8vo.[30]

Constantius Buccafocus, or Saliga, an Italian, was born October 4th, 1531, of mean parents, at the castle of *Sarnano*, and from the place of his birth was commonly called father Sarnano, a name which he retained when he was afterwards made cardinal by Sixtus V. At 10 years of age he entered the Franciscan order, and changed the name of *Gaspar*, which had been given to him at baptism, for that of *Constantius*. In his 28th year he received the degree of master of arts. He afterwards taught divinity and philosophy at Perugia, Padua, and Rome; and was distinguished by his piety and erudition. He was the devoted friend of F. Felix Montalto, (afterwards Sixtus V.) and with invincible firmness and constancy defended and supported him when there was not the least prospect of his arriving at the papacy. This unconquerable friendship was ultimately rewarded by the cardinal's hat, and the bishoprick of Vercelli, conferred upon him by Montalto, when he obtained the pontifical chair. He died suddenly in the convent of the

(29) Le Long, II. p. 998. Paris, 1723, fol.
(30) Nouv. Dict. Hist. VIII. p. 190.

holy apostles at Rome, December 31st, 1595. He was the author of a *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*; *Additions to the Commentary of Jo. Ant. Delphinus on the Gospel of St. John*; and of several theological and metaphysical works. He also edited St. Bonaventure's "Works," by order of Sixtus V.[31]

Ascanio Colonna, or Columna, junior, son of the duke of Palliano, was educated at his father's house in Rome, under the celebrated Muretus, and gave early proofs of literary talents. While yet young, he accompanied his father into Spain, and for ten years pursued the studies of theology, philosophy, and law, in the universities of Alcala and Salamanca. King Philip II. gave him an abbacy; and through his recommendation he was promoted to the purple by Sixtus V. in 1586. His palace in Rome was always open to men of learning, whom he patronized with great liberality. He collected a magnificent library, the care of which he committed to Pompeo Ugoni, a man of distinguished erudition. At the death of Philip II. in 1599, he pronounced the funeral oration, which was afterwards printed. His particular study was that of canon law. He died at Rome, in 1608.[32]

Petrus Rudolphus, or Rodulphus, of Tossignano, of the order of Friars Minors, consultor to the inquisition, was raised to the bishoprick of Venosa, by Sixtus V. and translated to the see of Senigaglia, by Gregory XIV. in 1591. He expended considerable sums in beautifying the cathedral and episcopal palace. In a synod convened by him, he framed a number of regulations for promoting purity of manners among the clergy. He died, and was buried in the metropolitan church, in 1601.[33]

---

(31) Alphons. Ciaconii Vit. et Res Gest. Pontif. Roman. &c. I. p. 166. Leti's Life of Sixtus V. pp. 91. 142.
(32) Aikin's Gen. Biog. III.
(33) Ughelli Italia Sacra, II. p. 671. Romæ, 1647, fol.

HENRICUS GRAVIUS was the son of a printer of Louvain, where he was born. He taught theology for twenty years, with great success, and was called to Rome by Sixtus V. to assist in editing the Vulgate Bible. Afterwards he was admitted to the court of Gregory XIV. and enjoyed the friendship of the Cardinals Caraffa, Borromeo, Colonna, and especially Baronius. He died at Rome, in May, 1591; after having passed his 55th year. Baronius composed his epitaph, and wrote a letter to the faculty of theology of Louvain, in which he deplores the death of Gravius, as the loss of his best friend. The *notes* contained in the 7th vol. of the works of St. Augustin, printed at Antwerp, 1578, were written by Gravius.[34]

Of ANDREAS, abbot of Salvanera; and ANTONIUS DE SANCTO SILVESTRO,* no information has been obtained.

FRANCISCUS TOLETUS was born at Cordova, in Spain, in the year 1532, and studied at the university of Salamanca, under Dominic Soto, one of the professors, who called him "a prodigy of wit." Having entered into the society of the Jesuits, he was sent to Rome, where he taught divinity and philosophy, and so highly pleased Pius V. that he was appointed preacher to his holiness, an office which he retained under the succeeding pontiffs. Gregory XIII. made him judge and censor of his works. Gregory XIV. Innocent IX. and Clement VIII. who raised him to the cardinalate, entrusted him with several important ecclesiastical affairs. He was the first Jesuit who was created cardinal. Though a Spaniard and Jesuit, he strenuously laboured to effect the reconciliation of Henry IV. of France to the see of Rome, notwithstand-

(34) Nouv. Dict. Hist. IV. p. 216.

* The monastery of St. Silvester is situated on a mountain in Italy near the Tiber, formerly called *Soractes*, but now *Monte di S. Silvestro*, or corruptly *Monte S. Tresto*. It is difficult of access, and is said to have received its name from being erected by Carloman, brother of Pepin of France, in honour of St. Silvester, who fled thither during the persecution raised against the Christians.

ing Philip II. of Spain did every thing he could to prevent it. Henry, grateful for his kindness, seized all opportunities of testifying his sense of the obligation, and on hearing of his death, which happened in 1596, in the 64th year of his age, caused a solemn service to be celebrated at Paris and Rouen. This learned cardinal published several works, the principal of which are 1. *Commentaries on St. John*, Lyons, 1614, fol.; *On St. Luke*, Rome, 1600, fol.; *On the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans*, Rome, 1602, 4to.: 2. *A Sum of Cases of Conscience, for the use of Priests*, Paris, 1613, 4to. In this work he maintains that subjects ought not to obey an excommunicated prince; and admits the lawfulness of equivocation and mental reservations.[35]

Augustinus Valerius, or Valerio, born at Venice, April 7th, 1531, of one of the principal families in that city, became doctor of divinity and canon law; and in 1558 was made moral professor in his native place. Having taken the ecclesiastical habit, he was nominated to the bishoprick of Verona, on the removal of his uncle, Cardinal Bernard Navagero, in 1565. His zeal, activity, and learning, gained him the friendship of the famous Cardinal Charles Borromeo. He was called to Rome by Gregory XIII. who placed him at the head of several congregations, after having raised him to the Roman purple. He died in that city, May 24th, 1606, at the age of 75. The most esteemed of his works are, 1. *The Rhetoric of Preachers*, composed by the advice, and according to the plan, of St. Charles Borromeo. It is said to contain "judicious reflections on the art of exciting the passions of the hearers, on illustrating and defending doctrines, and on the errors into which preachers are apt to fall." It is in Latin, but a French translation of it was published at Paris, by the Abbé Dinouart, in 1750, 12mo.—2. *De cautione adhibenda in*

(35) Nouv. Dict. Hist. IX. p. 164.

edendis libris, 1719, 4to. This latter work contains a catalogue of all the works of the author, whether printed or in manuscript.[36]

FREDERICUS BORROMÆUS, or BORROMEO, a learned cardinal, was the younger son of Count Julius Cæsar, brother to Count Gilbert, father of the celebrated St. Charles Borromeo. He was educated at Pavia, in the college founded by his cousin-german Charles, whom he endeavoured to copy in the whole of his conduct. He was consecrated archbishop of Milan, in 1595, and died in 1632. He celebrated the 7th council of Milan, wrote several pious works, and founded the famous Ambrosian Library, at Milan, which is said to contain 38,000 volumes, including 14,000 MSS. with many excellent pictures, and literary curiosities and monuments.[37]

The corrected edition of the Vulgate produced by the labours of these learned men, is that from which all the later editions in use among the members of the Romish church have been formed. These are too numerous to be particularly specified; the Paris edition of Didot in 1785, in two volumes quarto, may, however, be noticed for its singular beauty and accuracy.[38]

---

(36) Nouv. Dict. Hist. IX. p. 260.
(37) Butler's Lives, XI. p. 108, *note*.
(38) Clarke's (Dr. A.) Introd. to the Gospels, &c. p. xvi.
Horne's Introd. to the Critical Study of the Bible, I. p. 296.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

INDEX.

A

Page

ABBREVIATIONS used in early Typography..... 118
Abhazi, a nation formerly Christians..... 34
Acrostic, one on the Vaudois..... 434
Adam, (Michael) a converted Jew..... 374
Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II..... 95
Agricola, (Michael) a Finnish translator..... 346
Agricola, (Rodolphus) a learned German..... 186
Aix, (Bishop of) his impious and cruel conduct..... 441
Aldi, (the) eminent printers, account of..... 222
Aleria, (Bishop of) the great patron of the early Roman printers 112
Alm's box, curious one in use in the north of Europe..... 324
Alphonsus, king of Arragon, translates the Proverbs of Solomon 147
Alvarez, (Alphonsus) translates the book of Job into Spanish 226
Ambasia, (Cardinal) epistle of, to the canons of Bruges..... 188
Anecdotes of Alphonsus, king of Naples..... 140
Christian, king of Denmark..... 140
Humphrey Monmouth..... 386
Andrew Forman, bishop of Murray..... 417
George Chrichton, bishop of Dunkeld..... 418
Ogmund, bishop of Skalholt..... 341
Andreas, (Laurentius) a Swedish translator..... 303
Ann of Bohemia, queen of Richard II..... 92
Antwerp, young man drowned there for expounding the Scriptures 348
Arabic Scriptures, allowed to be read by the archbishop of Granada 151
Arran, (Earl of) regent of Scotland..... 528
Arundel's (Archbishop,) constitutions against the Lollards..... 77
Assurance (Christian,) doctrine of..... 272
Aungerville, (Richard) or De Bury, founder of the library of Trinity College.....5. 39
Aureolus, or Oriel, (Petrus) archbishop of Aix..... 20
Aurogallus, (Matthew) a German translator..... 290

B.

"Ballad," signification of the word..... 295
Beaumont, (Lewis) bishop of Durham, illiteracy of..... 3
robbed and taken prisoner..... 3
Berchorius, or Bercheur, (Petrus) author of the *Gesta Romanorum* 21
extracts from his works....21. 23
BIBLE, (Coverdale's), notice of..... 394
(Cranmer's) ——..... 403
(English,) allowed to be sold and read..... 398
(Hebrew,) one presented to the monastery of Bologna.. 21

Page.
BIBLE, (Latin,) fraud practised upon the edition of 1475..... 114
the first *printed* one 103. 117
(Great Rabbinical)..... 467
(Taverner's) notice of..... 404
(Vulgate) Papal edition of..... 490
BIBLES, early printed ones sold as MSS..... 107
editions of, prohibited..... 352
first editions of, *Latin*, 103, *German*, 109, *Hebrew*, 117
English..... 394
number of, published in the reign of Henry VIII..... 416
from A. D. 1500, to A. D. 1536 438
and TESTAMENTS, prices of, 80. 102. 108. 241, 242. 337. 375. 379. 405
read privately and circulated in Scotland..... 420
when first printed at Paris..... 114
"Biblia Pauperum," xylographic works so called..... 101
Bibliander, (Theodore) a Swiss translator..... 365
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES of Agellius, (Antonius) 500. Agricola, (Michael) 346. Alan, (William) 503. Aldi, (The) 222. Aldobrandino, (Hippolito) or Clement VIII. 498. Alphonsus, of Alcala 213. Ambrosius, (Theseus,) 219. Andreas, (Laurentius) 303. Andreas, Abbot of Salvanera 510. Ann of Bohemia, queen of Richard II. 92. Anthony of Nebrissa 210. Aretin, (Peter) 465. Aungerville, or De Bury, (Richard) 39. Aureolus, or Oriel, (Petrus) 20. Aurogallus, (Matthew) 290.———Bellarmin, (Robert) 505. Benedict, or Benoit, (John) 488. Berchorius, or Bercheur, (Petrus) 21. Bibliander, (Theodore) 365. Bomberg, (Daniel) 467. Bonnadventure des Perriers 433. Bonnemere, (Antoine) 157. Bonner, (Bishop) 402. 405. 408. Borromæus, (Fredericus) 512. Bridget, (St.) 27. Brucioli, (Francis) 464. Bruniquello, (Petrus de) 17. Buccafocus, (Constantius) 508. Bullinger, (Henry) 366. Burgos, (Paul of) 152.———Cajetan, (Cardinal) 218. Calvin (John) 435. Cantacuzenus, (Johannes) 32. Capnio, or Reuchlin, (John) 178. Caraffa, (Antonius) 499. Caxton, (William) 115 Cholin, (Peter) 365. Chrysostom, (Olaus) 338. Clarius, (Isidore) 489. Coburger, or Koburger, (Anthony,) 110. Colet, (John) 244. Colonna, (Ascanio) 509. Colonna, (Marcus Antonius) 593. Coronel, (Paul,) 213. Corvini, (Mattheo) king of Hungary, 180. Coverdale, (Myles) 387. 394, 395. Creston, (John) 186. Cromwell, (Thomas lord) earl of Essex, 406. Cruciger, (Caspar) 289.———De Bury, (Richard) bishop of Durham, 39. Deza, (Archbishop) 225. Dietenberg, John) 292. Doringk, or Thoringk, (Matthias) 174. Ducas, (Demetrius) 210. Easton, (Adam, 87. Eliæ (Paul) 313. Emser, (Jerom) 291. Enzinas, (Francis) 460. Erasmus 263. Euthalius Rhodius 33.———Faber, (Jacobus) or Jacques le Fevre, 232. Faber, (Jacobus) of Daventer, 260. Farget (Pierre) 156. Faulfisch, 93. Felix Pratensis 221. Ferrer, (Vincent) 144. Ferrer, (Bonifacio) 146. Foreiro, (Francis) 486. Forster (John) 291. Fust, one of the first printers, 103. 110. Gibson, (Thomas) 396. Gottshalkson,

(Oddur) 341, 342. Gravius, (Henricus) 510. Grocyn, (William) 164. 242. Gualter, (Rodolph) 365. Gutenberg, or Goensfleisch, (John) 102.———Hampole, (Richard) 45. Henry VI. 92. Hentenius, (John) 437. Herford, or Hereford, (Nicholas de) 58. Huss, (John) 94.———Jassowitz, (And. de) 173. Jatumæus, (Simon) 33. Jonas, (Jodocus or Justus) 289. Joye, (George) 379. 393. Justinian, or Giustiniani, (Aug.) 198.———Lælius, or Landius, 502. Latimer, (William) 243. Leo X. 188. Leo Judæ 354. 364. Leo, or Leontius Pilatus, 26. Lily, (William) 252. Linacre, or Lynacer, (Dr. Thomas) 165. Lindsay of the Mount, (Sir David) 422. Lucas Brugensis, (Francis) 488. Lypomannus, (Marcus) 184. Lyra, (Nicholas de) 17.——Macchabæus, or M'Bee, (John) 339. Macho, (Julian) 155. Malermi, or Malherbi, (Nicolas de) 137. Manetti, (Gianozzo) or Janotus Manetto, 136. Mantuanus, (Baptista) 185. Marchesinus, (John) 173. Marmochinus (Sanctes) 465. Marot, (Clement) 437. Matthias of Lincopen, 28. Melancthon, (Philip) 285. Mikkelsen, (Hans) or John Michaelis, 308. Mirabellius, (Dominicus Nanus) 139. Miranda, (Bartholomæus de) 505. Monmouth, or Mummuth, (Humphrey) 385. Morinus, (Peter) 501. Muller, (John) called Regiomontanus, 177. Munster, (Sebastian) 363.———Nathan, (Mordecai,) or R. Isaac, 183. Nicholas V. 134. Nobilius, (Flaminius) 500. Nonnus, (Ferdinand) or Nunnes de Gusman Pintian, 212.———Olivetan, (Robert Pierre) 435. Oresme, (Nicolas) 7.———Pace, (Richard) 390. Pagninus, (Sanctes) 216. Palladius, (Peter) 337. Paunartz, (Arnold) 111. Paul of Burgos, 152. Pedersen, (Christiern) 307. Pellican, (Conrad) 367. Perez, (Jacobus) 153. Petri (Laurent. and Olaus) 303. Picus, or Pico, (John Francis) earl of Mirandola, 185. Pileo, (Guido de) 27. Pomeranus, or Bugenhagen, (John) 287, Potken, (John) 347. Pratensis, (Felix) 221. Presles, or Praelle, (Raoul de) 7. 10. Purvey, or Purney, (John) 71.———Rely, (Jean de) 157. Roccha, (Angelus) 501. Rogers, (John) 397. Rolle, or Hampole, (Richard) 45. Rorar, or Rorarius, (George) 290. Rudolphus, (Petrus) 509. Rusbrochius, (Johannes) 27. Ruvere, (Jerom de) 508.———Sancto Silvestro, (Antonius de) 510. Servetus, (Michael) 455. Sixtus V. 490. 495. Stephens, or Etienne, (Henry) 445. Stephens, or Etienne, (Robert) 445. Stunica, (James Lopez) 211. Sweynheim, (Conrad) 111. Swyndurby, (Wylliam de) 61. Synning, or Siuneson, (John) 339.———Talavera, (Ferdinand de) 149. Taverner, (Richard) 404. Tausen, (Hans) called the "Danish Luther," 326. Trevisa, (John de) 49. Tyndall, (William) 374, 383.———Valerius, (Augustinus) 511. Valla, (Laurentius) 184. Valverdius, (Bartholomæus) 507. Vargara, (John de) 215. Vasa, (Gustavus) king of Sweden 301. Vignay, or Vignes, (Jean de) 13.——Wakefield, (Robert) 389. Wesselus, (John Herman) 175. Wheeloc, (Abraham) 35, see also vol. I. Whethamstede, (John of) 88. Wiclif, (John de) 64. Wormord, (Francis) 317.——Xavier, (Francis 459. Xavier, (Jeronymo) 36. Ximenes, (Car-

Page.
dinal) 150. 204. Zainer, (Gunther) 111. Zamora, (Alphonsus) 213. Ziegler, (Bernard) 291. Zuingle, (Ulric) 353.
Bishop, Icelandic one, awful conduct of..... 341
Block-printing, when first attempted..... 100
Boccaccio or Boccace, a celebrated Italian, promotes Greek literature at Florence..... 26
Bohemia, Wiclif's works introduced into the kingdom of..... 93
Bohemian Bible,.....95. 170
Bohemians, war of the..... 96
Boleyn, (Anna) New Testament belonging to..... 383
Bomberg's Great Rabbinical Bible..... 467
Bonnemere, (Antoine) inserts legendary stories in his edition of the French Bible.....157. 430
Bonner, (Bishop) causes English N. T. to be printed at Paris... 402
places 6 Bibles in St. Paul's church..... 405
apostacy and cruelty of..... 408
Books, importance of 41;———Prices of 80. 82. 88. 102. 108. 121. 204. 241. 282. 337. 368. 375. 379. 455
Books burnt,.....94. 149, 150 179. 350. 374. 379. 444
Book-censors, institution of..... 121
Booksellers, remarks upon the early..... 119
Bookseller burnt..... 442
beheaded..... 351
"Boy-bishop," festival of..... 84
Bridget or Birget, (St.) orders a Swedish translation..... 27
founder of the order of "Brigettins."..... 28
Brucioli, (Francis) an Italian translator..... 464
Bruniquello, (Petrus de) bishop of Civita-Nuova..... 17
Bucer, (Martin) Latin version of Psalms by him..... 393
Bugenhagen, his copy of Luther's German Bible..... 283
Bullinger, (Henry) a Swiss reformer..... 366
Burgos, (Paul of) or Paulus de S. Maria..... 152
Bury, (Richard de) or Aungerville, bishop of Durham..... 39

C

Caffa, (city of) formerly called *Theodosia*..... 34
"Calixtines," Bohemian sect so called..... 96
persecute the Taborites..... 97
Calvin, (John) his early opinions..... 432
assists Olivetan in translating the Bible.... 433
Cambridge, Greek first publicly taught at by Erasmus..... 165
Canons for the reformation of the clergy..... 148
Cantacuzenus, the Greek emperor..... 32
Capgrave, (John) a learned English monk..... 89
"Capnio," *John Reuchlin* so called..... 178
Caxton, (William) the first English printer..... 115. 166. 169
reasons why he did not print the Bible, 52. 54
"Cephalinus," an assumed name of H. Bullinger..... 370
Chapot, (Peter) burnt for dispersing Bibles..... 444
Charles V. founds the royal library of France..... 5
judicious saying of..... 6
orders a French translation of the Bible, &c...6. 11, 12

Page.
Chaucer's "Plowman's Tale," extracts from..... 2
Cholin, (Peter) a Swiss translator..... 365
Chrichton, (Geo.) bishop of Dunkeld, anecdote of..... 418
Christian II. promotes the Danish version of N. T..... 308
III. sanctions the Reformation..... 333
Christina de Pisan, a learned female historian, &c..... 7
Chrysostom, (Olaus) a Danish translator..... 338
"Church-block," a singular kind of poor's-box..... 324
Cicero's works, rare copy of part of..... 285
Clarke, (Rev. Dr. Adam) account of his old MS. English Bible 44
Clergy and monks, ignorance of, 3. 56. 148. 158. 164. 256. 417, 418
Cobham, (Thomas) founds a public library at Oxford..... 5
Comestor's "Historia Scholastica,"..... 156. 157
Commentaries, (Luther's)..... 293
Complutensian Polyglott..... 200
editors of..... 210
Concordance, (Hebrew)..... 183
first English one of the N. T..... 396
Constantinople taken by the Turks..... 140
"Consubstantiation," explanation of the term..... 358
"Corpse-present," explanation of the term..... 418
Corvini, (Matthæo) king of Hungary, libraries of..... 180
Coverdale, (Myles) an English translator..... 381. 394
Council of Trent..... 471
Decrees of..... 472
variously received..... 486
Cranmer, (Archbishop) promotes the revision and circulation of the English Scriptures..... 391
Crantz, (Martin) an early printer..... 113
Cromwell, (Thomas lord) a friend to the Bible..... 406
Cruciger, (Caspar) a German translator..... 289

D

Danish Version.....See *Versions*.
Deed, curious one of the sale of a Bible..... 108
Defence of vernacular translations..... 50. 229. 265. 411. 423
De Lyra, (Nicholas) Commentaries of..... 18. 113
Desk, (Reading) price of one..... 406
Deza, (Didaco) archbishop of Seville..... 225
Dietenberg's German Version..... 292
Divine, Luther's views of a Christian one..... 274
Dollar, (Vicar of) his singular conversation with the bishop of Dunkeld..... 418
Dominicans, or Friars-preachers..... 113
Doringk, or Thoringk, (Matthias) a learned German..... 174
Dramas, (Religious)..... 421
singular event from one being performed 31. 14
Dryander, (John) burnt for heresy..... 461
Dutch Versions...See *Versions*.

E

Easton, or Eston, (Adam) a learned English bishop, first mo-

Page.
dern translator of the Scriptures from the Hebrew..... 87
Eckius, or Eckens. (John) a German translator..... 293
Edicts, (Prohibitory) 77. 79. 126, 127. 131. 230. 294. 305. 348. 351. 409, 410. 420, 447. 453
"Elucidarium Bibliorum," or Prologue to the translation of the Bible..... 72
Emmerson, (Mrs. Margaret Van) her kindness to Tyndall.... 387
Emser's German Version..... 291
England, progress of the Reformation in..... 372
scarcity of Scriptures in..... 234
Enzinas, (Francis) a Spanish translator..... 459
"Episcopus-Puerorum," or Boy-bishop, feast of..... 84
Erasmus, advice of to Hans Tausen, the Danish translator..... 329
biographical account of..... 263
Colloquies of, sold in consequence of supposed prohibition..... 133
defends vernacular translations..... 265
treatise of, upon the Pater Noster, translated by a young lady..... 372
works of, burnt..... 265
Euthalius Rhodius, author of a Greek Concordance..... 33
Expositor of Scripture, Wiclif's rules for one..... 56
Exposition, curious one of Genesis iii. 16..... 172

F

Faber (Jacobus) Stapulensis, Biblical labours of.....226. 431
of Daventer, transcribes the Greek Testament 261
Farget, (Pierre) a reviser of the French Testament..... 156
Faulfisch introduces Wiclif's works into Bohemia..... 93
Faustus, (Dr.) origin of the story of..... 108
Felix Pratensis, a celebrated editor of Hebrew works..... 221
Ferrer, (Bonifacio) an early Spanish translator..... 142
"Festival of the Translation of the Scriptures," instituted..... 288
Fevre, (Jaques le) ..See *Faber Stapulensis.*
Fitzralph, (Richard) archbishop of Armagh, opposes the mendicant friars..... 37
Forest, (Thomas) vicar of Dollar, defends the reading of the Scriptures..... 418
Forman, (Andrew) bishop of Murray, anecdote of..... 417
Forster, (John) author of an Hebrew Lexicon..... 291
France, (Royal Library of) founded by Charles V..... 5
Franciscans, (Order of the) various names of..... 13
French Versions..See *Versions.*
Friars, (Mendicant) influence and learning of.. ...14. 16. 21. 37
orders of..... 13
Friburger, (Michael) an early printer..... 113
Frobenius, or Froben, (John) a celebrated printer..... 262
Fust, one of the first printers.....103—110

G

Genesis ii. 16, curious exposition of..... 172
Gering, (Ulric) an early printer..... 113
German Bible, (Luther's) the ground work of other versions... 300

Page.
German Bible, first printed edition of..... 109
German Old Testament, magnificent MS. of 170
"Gesta Romanorum," author of.....21. 24
Gibson, or Gybson, (Thomas) publisher of the first English Concordance of the New Testament..... 396
"Gospellers," conduct of the..... 413
Gospels, (Spurious) placed in churches 159
Grafton, (Richard) a celebrated printer and publisher 397. 402. 411
"Great Bible," editions of the English Scriptures so called.... 403
Greek, first taught publicly at Oxford and Cambridge..... 165
study of discountenanced.....247. 256. 426
taught in Scotland..... 426
Greek Testament, first printed portion of 223
inserted interlinearly in MSs of the Vulgate.. 255
Grocyn, singular instance of candour in..... 164
Gualter, (Rodolph) a Swiss translator. 365
Gustavus Vasa, king of Sweden..... 301
Gutenberg, (John) inventor of the art of printing..... 102

H

Hampole, (Richard) author of an English Version of the Psalms 45
Handel's testimony to Luther's musical talents..... 296
"Haphtaroth," explanation of the term..... 466
Hebrew, first taught in Scotland..... 427
Hebrew Bible, price of in 1494 368
presented to the monastery of Bologna..... 21
first printed edition of 117
editions of.....116, 117. 226. 280. 360. 450. 466
text of, defended against De Lyra 88
Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, editions of..... 363
printing presses established at Constantinople and Thessalonica..... 466
Pentateuch, presented to Pellican by Charity, abbess of St. Clare..... 369
vowel-points, novelty of defended by De Lyra..... 19
curious opinion of the origin of..... 153.
Hedwige, queen of Poland, causes a Polish translation of the Scriptures to be made..... 28
Hemmingius, a Danish translator..... 340
Henry VI. his attachment to the Scriptures..... 92
Henry VIII. writes against Luther, 372—dies..... 416
Herford, (Nicholas de) a translator of the English Scriptures... 58
Hollybushe's (Johan) English and Latin New Testament..... 401
Hughes' (Rev. John) letter of, respecting Trevisa's Version 53
Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, a patron of literature 89
Huss, (John) the Bohemian reformer..... 94

I

Jagello, duke of Lithuania, embraces Christianity..... 29
Jane of Burgundy, translation of Scriptures at her request...12. 17
Jatumæus, (Simon) author of a Triglott Harmony..... 33
Ibn Sahm Abdaula Ibn Scirana orders a translation of the Four Gospels into Persian..... 31

Page.
"Jertegn," meaning of the term..... 306
Jesuits, (Order of) founded by Loyola..... 458
Jews, expulsion of, from Spain.....151. 226
Ignorance and illiteracy of clerical orders. .See *Clergy.*
of a bishop of Durham..... 3
Illuminated MSS..... 7
Images, (Books of) the first attempts at printing..... 102
"Index," or Catalogue of prohibited books.....128. 479. 485.
(Congregation of the)..... 129
(Rules of the)..... 479
"1 John, v. 7," not inserted in the first editions of Luther's Version..... 283
Joye, (George) corrects the Dutch editions of Tyndall's New Testament..... 379
Irish Version, singular account of..... 36
Justinian's Polyglott Psalter..... 196

K

Kennedy and Kyllor burnt for heresy..... 421
Koburger, or Coburger, (Anthony) an early printer..... 110

L

Laity, contemptuous opinion of..... 41
Lancaster (Duke of) defends Wiclif..... 70
Languages, (Oriental) ordered to be taught in certain universities 4
Latin Bible, the first ever printed,..... 103
Testament, first separate edition of..... 172
Lectures, (Public) in churches, not read upon the Scriptures... 163
"Legenda Aurea," or Golden Legend, extract from..... 169
Legendary stories inserted in the Bible by Bonnemere..... 430
Leo, or Leontius Pilate, a learned Greek lecturer..... 26
Leo X. a patron of learning..... 188
"Libels," old meaning of the term..... 80
"Liber Festivalis," book so called..... 166
Library, (Bodleian) Oxford..... 90
catalogue of the duke (now king) of Wurtemberg's... 280
(The King's) in France, founded by Charles V..... 5
of Baliol College, Oxford..... 91
of Grey-Friars, London, when built..... 4
of Mattheo Corvini, king of Hungary..... 181
of Trinity College, Oxford..... 5
of Richard de Bury..... 39
(Public) of the University of Oxford..... 5
Licensers of the press, established in England..... 131
Liesveldt, (Jacob à) a famous Dutch printer..... 348
beheaded..... 351
Lily, (William) first master of St. Paul's School..... 252
Linacre, or Lynacer, (Dr. Thomas) first president of the College of Physicians..... 165
Lindsay of the Mount, (Sir David) his defence of vernacular translations..... 423
Literature, encouragement of, in Italy..... 187
Lithuanians, conversion of to Christianity..... 29

Page.
Liturgy, (Mozarabic) curious account of.... 207
"Lollards," Wiclif's followers so called.... 76
archbishop Arundel's constitutions against.... 77
Lonicer, (John Adam) a German translator.... 371
Lord's Supper, (Sacrament of) Luther's, and Zuingle's sentiments concerning.... 358
Loyola, (Ignatius) founder of the order of Jesuits.... 457
Luther, biographical account of.... 271
Luther's German Bible, 275; vellum copy of.... 282
number of editions of.... 272
copy of the Hebrew Bible.... 117
musical talents, Handel's testimony to.... 296
Lyra, (Nicholas de) a celebrated commentator.... 17
expense of transcribing his Commentary.... 4
his Commentary, the first ever printed.... 18

M

Macchabæus, or M'Bee, (John) one of the translators of the Danish Bible.... 339
Macho, (Julian) a French editor of the Bible.... 155
Mallard, (John) MS. of the Latin Psalter written by him.... 390
"Mammotrectus," a singular work so called.... 173
Manetti, (Granozzo) or Janotus Manetto, translates the Psalms and New Testament.... 137
Marot, (Clement) popularity of his metrical French version of the Psalms.... 439
Matthew's (St.) Gospel in Hebrew, editions of.... 363
Matthias of Lincopen, translates the Scriptures into Swedish.... 28
"Megilloth," explanation of the term.... 466
Melancthon, (Philip) biographical account of.... 285
Menand, (William le) French version of.... 156
Mendicant friars, orders of, 13; learning and influence of, 14. 16. 21
"Mentz Psalter," a rare edition so called.... 106
Minstrels, amply remunerated.... 84
Mirabellius, (D. N.) illustrates the Gospels from heathen writers 139
Monmouth, or Mummuth, (Humphrey) Tyndall's patron.... 385
anecdote of.... 386
Moors, extinction of the empire of, in Spain.... 149
Moravians, or *Unitas Fratrum*, from whom descended.... 97
Mozarabic Liturgy, curious account of.... 207
MS. of ancient English version, Dr. A. Clarke's account of.... 43
MSS. concealed in walls.... 36
of Wiclif's version.... 44. 71
Munster's (Sebastian) Latin version of the Old Testament.... 360

N

New Testament, Emser's German version of.... 291
Greek copy of, concealed in a wall.... 36
Nicholas V. a friend to literature.... 134
"Nicodemus," spurious Gospel of.... 159

O

Oddur Gottshalkson, translates the Icelandic New Testament in a cell in a cow-house.... 342

Page.
Oechslien, (John) a Swiss reformer..... 354
Ogmund, bishop of Skalholt, violently opposes reading the Scriptures in vernacular translations..... 341
Olivetan's French Bible..... 432
Oresme, (Nicolas) bishop of Lisieux..... 7
"Oriflame," the name of the ancient French standard..... 10
Otmar, (Silvanus) a German translator..... 371
Oxford, first Hebrew professor at..... 389
Greek first taught there by Vitellius..... 165
libraries of.....5. 90. 91

P

Pace, (Richard) dean of St. Paul's..... 390
Pagninus, (Sanctes) Latin version of..... 215
Paintings, Scripture ones.....42. 96
Pannartz, (Arnold) an early printer..... 111
Paris, English Bible commenced printing at..... 402
the Scriptures when first printed there..... 114
Pentateuch, Hebrew one presented to Conrad Pellican..... 369
Persecution of the Bohemians..... 97
of the Dutch..... 348
of the English.....236. 380
of the French..... 441
Pestinus, (G. P.) an Hungarian translator..... 346
Petrarch, (Francis) the reviver of learning in Italy..... 25
his account of the depravity of the papal court..... 1
Petri, (Laurentius, and Olaus) learned Swedish reformers..... 303
Pfedersheimer, (Paul) a converted Jew, teaches Pellican, Hebrew, 368
Pfeffercorn, (John) petitions the emperor Maximilian to burn Jewish books..... 179
Pfister, (Albert) an early printer..... 114
the first who introduced wood-cuts to illustrate the Sacred Text..... 114
Philips, (Henry) treacherously betrays Tyndall..... 388
Pileo, (Guido de) bishop of Ferrara..... 27
Pisan, (Christina de) illuminated copy of her poems..... 7
Playing-cards, manufacture of, the origin of printing..... 100
Plays, (Religous) See *Drama.*
Pointz, (Thomas) the friend of Tyndall..... 388
Polish version..... 28
Pomeranus, or John Bugenhagen..... 287
Polyglott, (Complutensian)..... 200
editors of..... 210
projected one of Aldus..... 223
Psalter, by Justinian..... 196
Polyglotts, remarks upon..... 196
Popery abolished in England..... 391
Porter, (John) cruelly treated by Bishop Bonner..... 408
Potken, (John) publishes Ethiopic Psalter..... 347
Praelle, or Presles, (Raoul de) author of a French version..... 7
preface of..... 8

Page.
Preaching out of doors, in Denmark..... 329.
Primer, (the) or form of public prayer..... 415
Printers (early) remarks upon..... 119
Printing, advantages and invention of..... 98. 100
introduced into Spain..... 153
opposed by copyists, &c..... 120
Printing-office, why called a *chapel*..... 115
Profligacy of the Swiss clergy..... 356
Prussia, receives the Reformation..... 343
Psalms, Marot's French version of, exceedingly popular..... 439
metrical versions of..... 440
sung in public worship..... 440
Psalter, (Ethiopic) edited by Potken..... 347
(illuminated) executed for Richard II... 70
(the Mentz) a rare edition..... 106
Polyglott one by Justinian..... 196
Quintuplex Latin one by Faber..... 226
Purvey, or Purney, (John) an English translator..... 71
Puteolanus, (J. F.) an Italian editor..... 465

Q

"Quatuor Sermones," a work printed by Caxton..... 166
Quinqarboreus, (John) editor of St. Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew 363

R

Rabbinical Bible, (The Great) published by Bomberg..... 467
Reading, deemed criminal..... 81
Reading-desk, price of making one..... 406
"Reductorium Morale," of Berchorius, extracts from..... 21
Reformers, a German Bible successively in their possession..... 282
Rely, (Jean de) French version of..... 157
"Repertorium Morale," of Berchorius, extracts from..... 23
Reuchlin, or Capnio, (John)..... 178
Reyner, (Cornelius) one of the editors of the Louvain Latin Vulgate..... 487
Rhodius, (Euthalius) author of a Greek Concordance..... 34
Rogers, (John) the martyr, editor of an English Bible..... 397
Rolle, (Richard) author of an English version of the Psalms..... 45
Roman characters, when first used in printing..... 112
Rome, printing introduced into..... 111
Rorar, or Rorarius, (George) Luther's amanuensis..... 290
"Roto," a Romish court of judicature..... 499
Rusbrochius, (Johannes) prior of Viridis Vallis..... 27

S

Sale-catalogues, origin of..... 120
Saxon Scriptures. See *Versions*.
School, (St. Paul's) founded by Dean Colet..... 252
Scotland, persecutions in..... 421. 427
progress of the Reformation in..... 416. 420. 429
Scriptures, editions of in the early part of the 16th century..... 468
"Festival of the translation of"..... 288
forbidden to be read.. 77. 79, 80. 97. 230, 234, 235. 295. 341. 348. 352. 379. 409. 415. 420, 434. 442. 447. 453. 463. 474. 477. 480

Page.
Scriptures, (2500 copies of) seized and ordered to be burnt.... 402
permitted to be read.....398. 405, 406
joy of the people at..... 398
study of neglected..... 273
scarce and expensive formerly.....80. 241, 242
rarity of in churches, &c. before the Reformation 159. 417. 234
Wiclif's rule for distinguishing the canonical from the apocryphal..... 56
Sermon, sum paid for one, A. D. 1430..... 80
Shirwood, (Robert) Oriental professor..... 390
Silvester, (St.) monastery of..... 510
Singing of Psalms begun in Protestant congregations..... 440
Society, (state of) in the 14th century..... 1
Soter, or Steyl, (John) assists in publishing Ethiopic Psalter.... 347
Spain, printing when first introduced into..... 153
Spanish councils.....148. 225
"Speculum humanæ salvationis," an early xylographic work 101, 102
Stephens, (Robert) list of his Biblical publications..... 450
Stephenses, the learned printers..... 445
Stokesly, (Bishop) refuses to revise the Scriptures..... 392
Subbiaco, (monastery of) printing established in..... 112
Subinco, archbishop of Prague, burns Wiclif's works..... 94
Swedish versions.....See *Versions.*
Sweynheim, (Conrad) an early printer..... 111
Swyndurby, (Wylliam de) a favourer of Wiclif..... 61
Sylvester, (John) an Hungarian translator..... 346
Synning, or Siuneson, (John) a Danish translator..... 339

T

"Taborites," a Bohemian sect so called..... 96
Tabrizi (Simon Ibn Joseph Ibn Abraham Al) author of a Persian version..... 35
Talavera, (Ferdinand de) archbishop of Granada, an excellent prelate..... 149
Talmud, (Jewish).....153. 467
Talmudical writings..... 179
Tausen, (Hans) Danish version of..... 325
preaches in the open air..... 329
"Taxatores Librorum," when instituted..... 121
Testament (New) Hollybushe's English and Latin..... 401
first separate Latin edition of..... 172
MSS. of concealed in walls..... 36
scarcity of Greek copies of in Germany... 368
Theodosia, (city of) now called *Caffa*..... 34
"Theologal," or "Theologian," decrees concerning the..... 502
"Thirken's-block," or "church-block," what so called..... 324
Tideman, (Peter) a Danish translator.....332. 340
Title-pages, observations on..... 117
Translation of Scriptures, methods adopted in..... 73
Translations, utility of.....50. 63. 265. 423
Translators of Scripture, why many of them are unknown..... 74

Page.
Trent, (council of) 471; decrees of, 472; by whom acknowledged 486
Trevisa, (John de) author of an English version 49
Tyndall's English translation of the *New Testament* 374; copy of the first edition, 37; defence of, 411; specimen of, 377; pirated editions, and prices of, 379 attempted to be suppressed 379. 409
translation of *Jonah* 382
of the *Pentateuch* 381
Types, matrices for, by whom invented 106
metal ones, when first used 103. 106
wood ones, imperfections of 103
Typography, (English) first specimen of 115
(Hebrew) 116
(observations upon the early) 117

V

Valencia, printing in Spain, first established there 153
Valla, (Laurentius) a learned Italian 184
Vaudois, acrostic upon, ... 434
or Waldenses, Bible printed at the expense of 434
Versions (Metrical) 27. 149. 361. 421. 437
VERSIONS, and ORIGINAL TEXTS OF SCRIPTURES, viz:—Arabic, 151. Belgic or Dutch 27. 173. 347. Bohemian 95. 170. Danish 29. 304—341. Dutch 27. 173. 347. English 43. 45. 49. 55. 71. 474. 393, 394. 401. 411. Ethiopic 347. Finnish 346. French 7. 13. 17. 154. 156, 157. 227. 233. 430. German 109. 275. 282. 291, 292, 293, 371. Greek 223. 261, 262. 286. Greek, (Modern) 466. Hebrew 21. 33. 116. 222. 226. 261. 360 363. 450. 461. 466. 468. Helvetian or German-Swiss 370. Hungarian 346. Icelandic 341. 343. Irish 36. Italian 137. 462. Latin 18. 28. 103. 107. 110, 111. 113. 137. 172. 215. 218. 221. 360, 361. 390. 393. 446. 450. 469. 487, 488, 489, 490. 493. 512. Norse or Icelandic 341. Persian 34. 36. Polish 28. 173. Polyglotts 196. 200. 347. Saxon, (Low) 171. 292. 301. Spanish 142. 147. 149, 224, 225. 459. 466. Swedish 27. 301. 302. 304.
Vienne, (council of) orders the Oriental tongues to be taught .. 4
Vignay or Vignes, (Jean de) 13
"Villeins," explanation of the term 164
Vitellius, (Cornelius) the first who taught Greek publicly at Oxford 165
Ulenberg's, (Caspar) German version 293
Vowel-points, (Hebrew) singular opinion respecting 153
Vows, (Monastic) taken by the Catholic fraternities 458
Vulgate, (Latin) editions of; see *Versions*
Sixtine edition of 490; editors of 492; abounds with errors 492; Clementine edition of 493; preface to, written by Bellarmin .. 493

W

Wakefield, (Robert) the first Hebrew professor at Oxford 389
Walden, (Thomas) his generous bequest of MSS. to the library of Grey Friars, London 4

Page.
Wedderburn, (James) author of religious dramas..... 421
Welch, (Sir John) befriends Tyndall..... 384
Wenceslaus, emperor of the West, MS. of the O. T. executed for..... 170
Wesselus, (John Herman) of Groningen, prefers a Bible to a bishopric..... 175
Whethamstede, (John of) abbot of St. Albans..... 88
Whittington, (Sir Richard) establishes the library of Grey Friars, London..... 4
Wiclif translates the Scriptures into English.....55. 64. 68
Wiclif's translation circulated..... 80
Winchelsey, (Thomas) a liberal benefactor to the library of the Grey Friars..... 4
Wood, art of engraving upon..... 100
Wormord, (Francis) a Danish translator..... 317
Wurtemberg's, (king of) library, analysis of the catalogue of.... 280

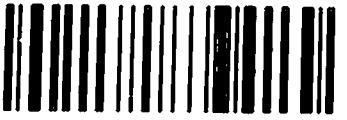
X

Xavier, (Francis) the *Apostle of the Indies*..... 459
(Geronymo) transmits a MS. of Persian Gospels to Rome 36
Ximenes, (Cardinal) forbids the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue..... 151
Polyglott Bible of..... 200
Xylographic works, or works engraved on wood..... 100

Z

Zainer, (Gunther) an early printer..... 111
curious wood-cut in the Bibles printed by him..... 111
Ziegler, (Bernard)..... 291
Zingg, (Francis) a Swiss reformer..... 354
Zuingle, (Ulric) Annotations of..... 359
copies the Greek text of St. Paul's Epistles .. 353
Zurich Latin Bible..... 361

Printed by B. Crompton,
Bury, Lancashire.


00110994

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 06 February, 2016